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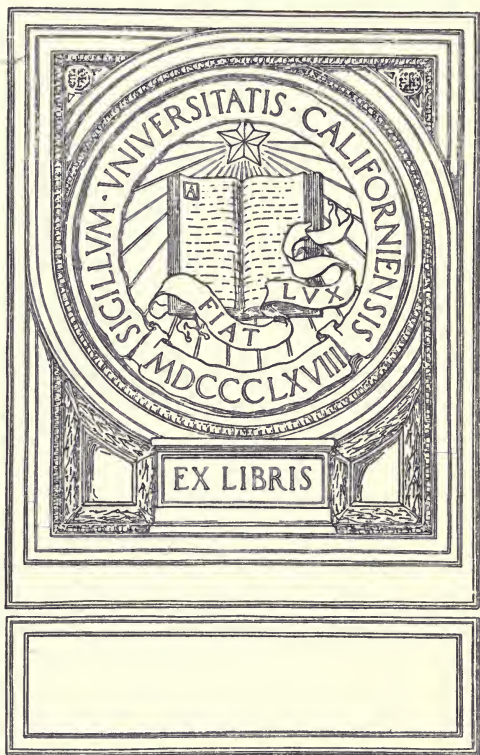
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HANCOCK
ON
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PROCEEDINGS OF THE

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE

1901

OF THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CLIMATE

1901

HELD AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

ON DECEMBER 12, 1901

AND AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

ON DECEMBER 13, 1901

AND AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

ON DECEMBER 14, 1901

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ON DECEMBER 16, 1901

AND AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO



THE
PRINCIPLES OF PEACE
EXEMPLIFIED IN THE CONDUCT
OF THE
SOCIETY OF FRIENDS IN IRELAND,
DURING THE
REBELLION OF THE YEAR 1798,
WITH SOME
PRELIMINARY AND CONCLUDING
OBSERVATIONS.

BY THOMAS HANCOCK, M.D.

Stereotype Edition.



BOSTON:

AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY.

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P R E F A C E .

THE documents from which this brief narrative is compiled, have, most of them, been some years in the author's possession. They have been obtained from those who were concerned, either as actors or eye-witnesses, in the scenes which are depicted. They contain the names of such individuals as are alluded to in the narrative; but the author is placed under the necessity of generally withholding them.*

Though some, amongst the individuals noticed, are now in the silent grave, yet the nature of the scenes in which they were engaged, requires that regard should be paid to their surviving friends and immediate descendants. Associated, as were those scenes, with the heart-burnings of civil war, it is possible that, even at this distance of time, the narrative might recall some feelings, in societies and neighborhoods, which, for the sake of harmony and good fellowship, ought to be consigned to oblivion.

If this reason be entitled to consideration, in so far as it relates to the descendants of those whose acts are recorded, the surviving individuals, to whom allusion is made, have much stronger motives to urge the concealment they have requested.

Under disadvantages which thus attach to the publication, the author cannot do less than assure his reader of his undoubted belief in the truth of the incidents that are

* The narrative respecting Ballitore affords an exception.

recorded; being personally acquainted not only with some of the individuals, but of the writers concerned, and knowing that they are entitled to the fullest credit. But the documents being simply designed to show in what manner a number of persons, who followed the principles of peace, regulated their conduct in a time of civil warfare, and, through divine mercy, experienced preservation; and not having been collected to set forth the praise, either of any individual or of any society, the names of the actors are of minor importance.

As the heads of the chapters will show that some little arrangement is attempted, it will readily occur to the reader that the order of time could not be very strictly observed; and he will therefore find that a few events are narrated, for the purpose of classification, *after* others, which, in fact, they preceded.

As the time will undoubtedly come — and no one can say how soon it may arrive — when the Christian principles of peace will be more generally received and acted upon in the world than they are at present; every contribution, however small, pointing out the way in which the followers of peace have endeavored to obey their Lord and Master's literal injunctions on this fundamental point, and commemorating the blessed effects of their obedience, may have some little weight in the balance, to determine the minds of hesitating Christians on the side of peace.

And thus, although the store may happen to be slowly collected, and the light to be very gradually diffused, an accumulation of facts and testimonies from different parts of the world, and a concentration of light from the increasing convictions of truth in different minds, employed in examining this important question, may at last be expected to work such a change of public sentiment in favor of peace, as shall establish the principle incontrovertibly, *that Christianity is altogether a religion of peace* — a system of

love and good will to men, — whether viewed in the mode of its introduction or of its propagation, or in its principles, or in relation to the prophecies respecting it.

It was announced with the angelic song of PEACE. It was founded by the Prince of Peace. It depended so entirely on its own peaceable armor — the meekness and lamb-like disposition of its ambassadors — to overcome its enemies, that it was propagated in direct defiance of the sword. It had so little dependence on the sword to aid its progress, that it has never made a single conquest over the minds of men, when its professed followers have used the sword in its sacred name. It inculcates those dispositions in heart and mind, which can have no possible affinity with the pride of martial glory, nor concord with the turbulence of military achievements. Peace was the legacy bequeathed to his disciples by the great Head of the Church. Upon the peacemakers he pronounced his blessing. Peace was predicted to be the sign and supreme excellency of the Messiah's kingdom in the latter days on the earth ; and the believer in Scripture must be assured that a time will come when there will be PERMANENT AND UNIVERSAL PEACE. All these things demonstrate that a pure Christianity is identified with a state of peace ; and, surely, we have evidence enough from past history to convince the most doubting in the present day, of the great preponderance, in the scale of national glory, of peace over war ; and to prove its loveliness, its security, and its transcendent excellency.

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*not absolutely indispensable to
the abolition of war.*

THE
PRINCIPLES OF PEACE,
&c. &c.

CHAPTER I.

Preliminary Observations on the Practical Influence of Peaceable Dispositions.

THERE are two different lights in which we may habitually regard our fellow-creatures; either with feelings of goodwill and affection, or of distrust and suspicion, as we are disposed to take a favorable view of human nature, or the contrary. According as we are influenced by one or other of these dispositions, we shall be led to attract our fellow-man towards us, or to repel him from us; to look upon an erring brother with a degree of pity, and in a forgiving spirit, (even when he harbors the most unjust feelings respecting us,) or to place ourselves in a hostile attitude against him, even for the slightest supposed offence. It is obvious that as, by our own conduct, we *excite* the good or evil propensities of others, *so* we must expect to make ourselves liable to their effects. For if we display those dispositions which lead to wrath and envy, we must look, in the course of things, for the manifestation of similar feelings, at least from the rude and undisciplined, who are not better informed. It is in the nature of love, as it is of cruelty, to propagate its kind; and, by our example, as well as by the immediate effect of our conduct, we make others peaceable or vindictive: these are natural consequences.

According, therefore, as we cultivate in ourselves the benevolent or malevolent affections towards others, and excite corresponding feelings in them, we may be assured, that such will be the state of society in our immediate vicinity;—and, if we reason from the less to the greater—from our own circle to the widest sphere of our influence—such will be

our friendly or unfriendly relation to mankind universally, and consequently our influence in promoting the happiness or misery of the world.

Now, though it must be acknowledged, that the principles above stated are enforced in the clearest and strongest manner in the precepts of Christianity, and, moreover, that it is necessary the mind should be deeply imbued with the peculiar spirit of Christian love, before it can bring forth, in perfection, the fruits of peace and good-will; yet, before the Gospel was ushered into the world, the human mind had a glimpse of the excellence and utility of these principles. For heathen philosophy has told us what ought to be the rule of human conduct, and the practice of a wise and virtuous man, when under opprobrium and wrong. It has told us that, by mildness, anger may be appeased, even as "a soft answer turns away wrath;" and that, by forbearance, animosity may be extinguished. Pythagoras, Epictetus, Plutarch, Seneca, and others, teach us many such lessons.

But it was reserved for a light, clearer than that of either Greece or Rome, to point out a surer road to peace than any of their wisest sages seem to have been capable of imagining. That light was the Gospel; that path was meekness, forgiveness of injuries, and forbearance: these duties were inculcated in the precept—to love our enemies; and to do good unto all men.

The heathen, indeed, saw something of the excellence of this principle, but did not so far anticipate Christianity as to trust their lives and fortunes to its government. Their gods were implored in danger; but idolatry vitiated their sacrifices. They knew nothing of what it was "to stand still and see the salvation of God."

The Jews advanced a step further: when the cause was not their own, and their motive was not ambition; or when danger was at hand, and they meekly petitioned for divine aid; their enemies were scattered "like chaff before the wind," and they found that "one could chase a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight." But the Jews were not practically instructed, and perhaps the spirit of the times did not permit them to be so, in the heart-softening lesson of Christian charity, *by meekness to disarm revenge*. They do not appear to have considered that one act of retaliation only prepared the way for another.

The example of Christ and his apostles, and the history of Christianity itself, afford a practical proof of the pacific efficacy of the Gospel, and of the universal love it breathes to the human family.

Thus a gradual illumination may be said to have beamed upon the world :—the light of nature and of reason ;—the outward and typical institutions of Moses ;—the inward and spiritual dispensation of Jesus Christ.

The law that resulted from the first was vague and uncertain : Socrates and Cicero had no claims to the legislative or prophetic character.

The Mosaic code was of a decided though rigid cast, partial however, and adapted to the stubborn necks of a rebellious people. The Gospel was of universal love, and as universal application ; intelligible to all, and unlimited in its range.

The first shone upon the human intellect, as through a mist ; and the learned only could perceive the signs of divine wisdom in the Law of Nature. The second struck upon the outward senses of a peculiar people ; with signs, indeed, of awe and terror, and with miraculous display of power ; in its types and ordinances shadowing out the substantial and spiritual dispensation which should succeed.

The last was emitted from the Sun of Righteousness himself, directly to the heart, with transcendently glorious manifestations of divine love to the human family. This last dispensation has in itself, therefore, the means of accomplishing that for which it was designed—Peace on earth : and, do we still wait for something more perfect than we have yet received ? “ Art thou He that should come, or look we for another ? ”

Now, whatever virtue it is incumbent upon a good man to be always practising, *that* ought to be the governing principle of every human society, from the contracted circles of families and neighborhoods, to the enlarged sphere of countries and kingdoms. For, all mankind is of one blood ; and there is not one code for individuals, and another code for associations, either of few or many. In respect to moral laws, there is not one code for the prince, and another for the people. All men are equally bound by the duties of religion. Christian virtue can no more be bent from its firm and upright attitude, to suit the petty views of the cunning and malicious, or even the specious views of political expediency, than the main pillar of a temple can be bent from its perpendicular, without endangering the ruin of the whole edifice. If the proposition be true, that Peace is a blessing, and War is a curse, the motives and the causes of the one must be of a character directly opposite to the motives and causes of the other ; and, in so far as human agency is concerned in promoting either, the blessing will belong to the peacemaker or the curse to

the violent. The elements of Peace are in their nature and operation supremely virtuous; the elements of War highly vicious. There is nothing of seeming contempt which can rob the first of its excellence, nor of gorgeous display which can hide the deformity of the last, and confer upon it real glory. By what perverted modes of thinking, then, is it, that a practice, which has even acquired the name of an art, and has proved an engine of destruction to so many millions of the human race, should continue to be trimmed with honors, and idolized with praises? We might reasonably wonder at the circumstance, if we did not on all sides perceive, that man, paradoxically enough, follows the evil which he abhors, and pursues his present, with infinitely more ardor than he does his future, good. That, in the case of War, he should be encouraged, by some wise and good men, to reconcile to reason and justice the indulgence of his malevolent feelings, is cause of still greater wonder, and certainly of deep lamentation.

For, notwithstanding the force of these principles,—in which, it is expected, most will be agreed, at least in theory,—when we come to consider the actual state of man, and the prevalence of evil in the world, we shall find that many specious arguments have been adduced against the practical adoption of the principles of Peace. It has been objected, that nations could not exist without War,—that the wicked would overwhelm the good, and, although it may be a deplorable, that it is still a necessary evil. Hence, even among the professors of Christianity, self-preservation, which is called the first law of nature, justice, and even necessity, have been urged, separately and unitedly, as affording unanswerable reasons for maintaining the attitude, and proceeding to the extremity, of War.

In our reasonings on this subject, it will be assumed, that the contention between individuals, like that between states, arises from the same principles; and that the same arguments will apply to both cases.

The plea of Self-defence, of Justice, and of Necessity, will be considered in order.

PLEA OF SELF-DEFENCE.

Self-defence, it must be allowed, offers a plausible argument in favor of active resistance with the sword. It is,

however, an argument which would apply to animals devoid of reason, better than to man, who is supereminently styled Rational. It is even opposed by the analogy of nature ; for, in strict unison with the moral state of man, while, in some of its phenomena, nature exhibits what are called physical evils, in other words, disorder and imperfection,—yet, in others, she displays the signs of most perfect physical beauty and harmony, and of a workmanship eminently divine. If there be any thing in such an analogy, it is against the argument, taking the different circumstances of man and the brute into consideration ; for brutes do not war against their own kinds, as was observed formerly by Juvenal. And again, those animals which are designed to make prey of others for their support, are formed with offensive weapons ; while, on the other hand, their prey are provided with natural means of escape or resistance. But the human family is not divided in this way, into some naturally armed and ferocious, and into others naturally unarmed and gentle. We observe, indeed, that mankind is distinguished into those endowed with physical, and those with moral power. But these distinctions are more or less the effect of education and outward circumstances. In all ages, however, the moral or intellectual endowments of man, have had superiority over the physical, when the energies of the former have been brought into full play ; and, in the unerring scale of justice, it has been provided, that the moral influence and virtues of the good, should be a sufficient counterbalance to the physical influence and vices of the bad.

We must conclude, therefore, that, if the wise and good are reduced to the necessity of taking a part in any dispute, they are not to take the part which will increase it, but that which will allay it ; as in this way only can harmony be at last attained. We conclude, that, if contests must needs arise, the only justifiable *warfare* in which the wise and good can engage, is that of moral influence against brute violence ; in short, that good dispositions are to be opposed to evil—benevolent affections to malevolent—the principles of Peace to the principles of War.

The argument for self-defence, by means of deadly weapons, assumes, in its very principles, that man should always be armed against his fellow-man, and that brute force is superior to reason ; consequently, that a rational being is not to be convinced, and persuaded, and reconciled ; but that, when offering violence, he is with summary vengeance to be overthrown by violence, and put to death, like one of the

inferior animals. Now, it is a state of things highly unbecoming to the dignity of rational creatures,—we say *the dignity*, when we speak of those who are upon the Lord's earth setting an example to others both of the excellency of virtue, and of the superiority of moral to physical acquirements,—it is highly derogatory to the character of moral and intellectual beings, that they should go about armed with destructive weapons, in dread of each other. Even a Roman poet says:—

“Integer vitæ, scelerisque purus,
Non eget Mauri jaculis, neque arcu.”

The man of blameless life, and pure in heart,
Needs not the bow, nor venomed Moorish dart.

It may, indeed, be said, that the first aggressor forfeits the claim and character of man, and, therefore, that he ought to be treated like the brute. But that would be to say, that he, who is urged to an act of violence in his defence, would also be justified in laying aside the attributes of reason, and assuming those of the brute, because his fellow-creature so far deviated from the line of rationality as to set him the example; it would be a plea for the degradation of reason, not for its ascendancy. Man is superior to the brute, not by his physical, but by his moral energies; and it would be a low distinction if one man did not excel another by the same moral energies. Therefore, if physical energies are put forth on one side, moral energies are to be employed on the other. It is not that the great, and wise, and good, should come down to the level of the mean, and ignorant, and depraved, so as to contend for superiority with the weapons chosen by the latter; but it is to be considered a contest of virtue, honor, justice, integrity, benevolence, and order, with vice, infamy, wrong, deceit, violence, and confusion. Who can doubt, where such elements are fairly in opposition, to which side Providence will ultimately give the victory?

But when a human being, profligate and depraved, knows that society is all up in arms, and that cruel and vindictive laws are in operation against him, he will brave the worst, with the nerve and desperation of one who has never tasted the milk of human kindness from any of his fellow-creatures, nor seen a tear of pity and compassion flowing for his sake. And so it is, when the worse part of society are persuaded that, if they encounter the better part, they will be resisted with violence, and, if possible, put to death; they will naturally prepare themselves with weapons of destruction, and brace

their nerves to cruelty; because they feel a conviction, that those who would take their lives *if they could*, are brought more to a level, in *spirit and intention*, with themselves. If they were persuaded, on the contrary, that the better part would not resist them to the last extremity, it is most probable that, whatever might be their object, they would rarely attack any one with bloody designs. When it can be shown that men, taken collectively or individually, can neither be brought to listen to reason, nor to humanity, nor to religion; and that reason, humanity, and religion, have exhausted their power against violence, without effect; — when it can be shown that they pay no respect to the innocent, peaceable, virtuous and benevolent; then, indeed, the plea of self-defence, if for no other end, yet for the sake of maintaining social and moral order, might be admitted to have some weight.

We are, however, disposed to think — though it is a question somewhat abstruse and difficult to meddle with — that the proposition is founded in truth, that it is not wholly by physical influence, such as an armed police, or a military force, that civil order is maintained, even in heathen communities. If this should prove to be the case, is it credible that, in Christian societies, *right* should depend upon *might* to secure its ascendancy? It is the common opinion, we know, that it is physical influence alone which enforces subordination, and supports the rights of justice; and it would be difficult, perhaps impossible, to convince the majority that this is not the case. For so long as the views, and hopes, and reasonings of men are outward, they will not rely upon providential assistance or moral influence, even in the conscientious discharge of their duty, nor will they admit it into their calculations.

When, indeed, the frame of civil society has been for a long time leaning upon outward weapons for its support, its integrity appears to be identified with them; so that to take them away would seem to unhinge the whole structure, and to expose it to certain ruin. If a question, therefore, as to its preservation in this state should arise, probably no prudent man would recommend an immediate change to an opposite state. For, unless the whole movements of the social system should at the same time be regulated by a truly Christian spirit, half measures would be injurious, (as any adulteration of that which is pure, with that which is not so, both in principle and practice, is sure to rob the first of its essential characters,) and would produce worse consequences than seem to await schemes *entirely* constructed on principles of

outward expediency, which have no relation at all to a future state of retribution.

But, notwithstanding this admission — (and it is by no means to be understood as any concession in favor of violence) — whatever aid physical power may contribute to the maintenance of civil order, *in societies whose institutions are not all established on a basis of true wisdom, after the Christian model*, there is reason to think that it is the ascendancy of moral influence, after all, which mainly supports the fabric, and that the great bulwarks of civil order rest on a firmer foundation than any outward visible means of defence.

If physical influence constituted the only means of maintaining civil order, evil-doers would plainly have the advantage, as to their physical strength; because the disposition to violence is more universal in the world than the disposition to peace and forbearance. Upon the principle, therefore, that the greatest amount of physical force ought to maintain an ascendancy in human affairs, violence and outrage should prevail, so as to subvert all laws, both divine and human.

But there is no human society, which subsists in such a state of anarchy. Therefore, there are other principles than those of violence and outrage, which operate in the human mind to prevent it.

For, what else should restrain the multitude of evil-doers from rising against the good, and supporting the law of vice and the dominion of violence? It is certain that physical power would be in their hands to effect these objects, if some moral checks did not prevent them.

Surely these checks are, the natural feelings of the heart, coëval with the first impressions of right and wrong, the reverence of law and justice, the natural sense of religion, and the consciousness that all the better feelings of mankind, as well as their own secret convictions, would be in array against them, if they should be profligate enough to make the attempt.

It is not the fear of those punishments which are inflicted by the law, as was observed by Cicero, that alone restrains the violent. If this were the only feeling, violence would soon be triumphant over law.

Law maintains its ascendancy, because it is founded in justice; and justice is formidable to the wicked, because it is an institution of the Deity, from the force and sensible obligation of which no man can free his mind, except by a series of gradations in vice, and by reiterated acts of disobedience.

The Almighty, therefore, has himself appointed the checks, which, we may presume, will forever prevent the universal dominion of vice over virtue.

As to the argument for self-defence, then, little, upon the Christian scheme, can be said in its support. For, even if we surrender the principle of good-will, which ought to bind every disciple of a benevolent Lord, the Christian Religion requires that all its followers should have their daily supplies from the Captain of their Salvation; and that in all their wants they should derive their sufficiency from Him alone, — in all their perils should seek his aid, in all their afflictions, his spiritual consolation. It can scarcely be necessary to say, that the strength of the true Christian is the ability with which he may be endowed by his Divine Master, either to think, to speak, or to act. He has no *independent* existence. In Him he lives, and moves, and has his being. He has no might of his own — certainly none that will ever avail him — to encounter the powers of darkness, which are his only enemies, with effect.

PLEA OF JUSTICE.

Justice is either relative or absolute. According to the diversity of human laws, every community may have its peculiar notions of justice — and this is relative: there is, notwithstanding, a principle of justice, which is fixed on an immutable foundation, and applies to an unerring standard. Every act of aggression on life or property implies injustice; and as injustice ought to be punished, it must be lawful to prevent it, so far as man is clearly commissioned with authority to do so from his Maker. The Greeks, while they differed among themselves, had notions of justice differing in some respects from those of the Romans. Both, like the Persians, Indians, and Chinese, formed their systems of jurisprudence from the light of nature. Wrong, and outrage, therefore, have been restrained and punished, according to the notions of natural justice in different countries, unenlightened by divine laws. Now, the divine laws, from which justice has emanated, have been varied, for wise purposes, in different ages and dispensations to man, as it has pleased the divine Author to promulgate either a *Law of Fear*, or a *Law of Love*. — And the institutions of Christianity, being founded on the latter law, are more merciful than the institutions of

Moses, who was commissioned with the former. Therefore the law of love should be *fundamentally* "part and parcel of the laws" and institutions of every Christian government. If these laws of Christianity are not in themselves adequate to the support and order of Christian states, then Christ came into the world to propose a system of rules inapplicable to human society. But the latter supposition cannot for a moment be entertained, and therefore we must reject the former, and conclude, that the merciful institutions of Christianity are in themselves abundantly adequate to the support and order of Christian states. In all that concerned inward purity of heart, and every avenue that might lead to defilement, a stricter discipline was imposed upon the Christian than upon the Jew; but in all that concerned the use of outward forms and ceremonies, the Christian was released from a heavy yoke which was laid upon the Jew. So, then, the harsher code of the Jew has been superseded by the milder code of the Christian. Now, as, for the most part, it was the law of retaliation which measured judgment to the Hebrew transgressor, and justice to him that was injured; so it is, for the most part, the law of mercy which is appointed to administer justice between Christians. Beyond this, every act of undue severity, either of individuals or of society, against offenders, is a violation of the precepts of Christianity, and, so far, an act of injustice, and of rebellion against its merciful government, whatever excuses may be made, as of expediency and necessity, on the score of civil order. When the professed upholders of Christian law wilfully transgress its precepts, on the presumption that these are too weak to bind the lawless, they themselves give to the world a most pernicious example of practical unbelief. And their example is not lost; for infidelity openly points at the inconsistency, and rails at these benign institutions for their supposed inefficacy, which the Christian senator has not the courage to act upon and to enforce, though he is ready to boast of their supreme authority.

Christ, the Divine Lawgiver, was not merely satisfied to have the *conduct* exempt from the guilt of any gross immorality; he required the *heart* also to be free from stain. Hence he contrasted those capital offences, that were already denounced in the Jewish code, with the first buddings of unlawful desire, from which they sprung; and therefore struck at the root, by forbidding even the least appearance of evil in the heart itself to be encouraged. The Jewish law commanded: Thou shalt not *kill*. — The Christian: Thou shalt

not even be *angry* with thy brother. The Jewish law says: Thou shalt not commit adultery.—The Christian: Thou shalt not be guilty in this respect *even so far as thought or desire*. The Jewish law adjudges, “an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth.”—The Christian enjoins, that men shall not resist evil, either when wronged in person or property; *i. e.* smitten on the cheek or despoiled of a garment. The Jewish law commands: Thou shalt not forswear thyself.—The Christian: Swear not at all; but let your affirmation and negation be yea and nay. And lastly, the Jewish law permitted men to hate their enemies—those who were the enemies of God and Righteousness.—But the Christian says, in the spirit of Peace: “Love your enemies,”—adding, “for if ye love them that love you, what reward have ye?” For Christians should be in spirit bounteous and merciful to the whole human family, like the Father of all, “who sends his rain on the just as well as on the unjust.”

Now, it is certain that, at the same time, and in the same precepts, in which Christ laid down for his followers a stricter path to walk in than Moses had appointed for the Jews, he relaxed the severity of penal ordinances: for, while he omitted nothing which might lead the obedient disciples onward to perfection, he was silent upon every thing that might seem to warrant the exercise of severity against sinners; because his office was not to punish sin in the repentant sinner, but *to take it wholly away*; and even when the woman convicted of a capital offence was brought before him for judgment, he gave a memorable lesson to modern legislators; *Let him that is without sin cast the first stone*. If, therefore, we may take our notions of justice from the spirit of Christ's precepts, it has nothing vindictive in its character: vengeance belongs only to “the Judge of quick and dead.”

Hence, if Christian justice be the rule and guide of human councils,—and it ought to be so, for every follower of Christ should obey his precepts and cultivate the same spirit,—it can give no sanction to war and contention, or to any sort of penal retribution from man, *except that which leads to the correction of vice and to repentance*. Christian justice, being in itself complete, and the very perfection of moral administration in the world, is in all respects identified with, and cannot be separated from, Divine justice. There is no human being, nor any assemblage of human beings, professing Christianity, who, by law or ordinance, can justly authorize an act which is not founded on the principles of Christian justice. These principles, being merciful, must be obeyed,

if men would look for mercy from their Maker, however hard the necessity of the case may seem to those who are injured.

Now, unless the rulers of Christian states can prove themselves to be duly commissioned with a special mandate of the Almighty, to execute his sovereign will against transgressors, by some violent penal chastisement, they cannot consistently plead that they have the sanction of Christian justice. For, if they acknowledge that they do not act under this influence and with this divine authority, any other justice, to which they may appeal and lay claim, whether Jewish or heathen, will neither recommend the tribunal by which it is administered, in the sight of men, as a Christian tribunal, nor will it call down the divine blessing, which was pronounced by the Savior of the world upon the merciful.

We have an example of Christian jurisprudence in practical operation, in the early history of Pennsylvania; and it appears that the constable's staff was found to be sufficient, both to command the respect of the people, and to enforce the execution of the criminal laws, without sword or musket.

This argument, therefore, gives no countenance to the idea, that all good men may not lawfully coöperate to preserve peace and order, and to restrain the violent, as they would restrain those who are devoid of reason. But it insists on the condition, that, in so doing, they carry with them neither the temper nor the instruments of violence. There is not in the universe a greater coward than the man, who is guilty of some flagitious crime, and sees the indignation of the good on all sides roused against him:—"The wicked fleeth when no man pursueth." And there is not, on the contrary, any one more truly bold than the good man, who goes forth unarmed, confiding in God and his integrity, against the weapons of the cruel:—"The righteous is bold as a lion."

PLEA OF NECESSITY.

The word *necessity*, when applied to the moral conduct of free agents, implies nothing more than duty, and in the case of War, it involves two considerations: First, the duty of preserving our existence; and secondly, obedience to moral or divine requisition.

It is plain, that, in all cases in which these duties may seem

to interfere, the former must yield to the latter. For, under the Christian dispensation, the promise or assurance of immortal felicity to all who obey the divine commands, cuts off the justification that would lean upon self-preservation as a paramount duty; and by making *temporal* concerns of little account in the scale, whether they be possessions, privileges, rights, or the endearments of kindred, it enhances the value of the *eternal*, and therefore exacts unconditional submission to the divine law. If these principles did not hold, no man would ever have been a martyr to the convictions of his conscience.

Necessity cannot surely imply that when life appears to be in danger, every other consideration is to be set aside in order to preserve it. This is not the doctrine of Scripture; it is not even the doctrine of heathen philosophy.

It was an old saying among those who were but partially enlightened respecting a future state, *Fiat justitia, ruat cælum*: — *Let man do his duty, whatever extremity may happen*; and it was consistently held that, in some cases, when pressed by violence, men ought rather to surrender their lives, than submit to any act of turpitude or ignominy, for the sake of prolonging their existence. So, then, the preservation of life was not to be regarded as the only end and object of rational beings. For virtue required that life itself should be undervalued, when placed in competition with duty and true honor. If a man were reduced to the supposed necessity of telling a falsehood to save his life, would he be justified in violating the truth, when he felt persuaded that there is a God in heaven to reward the upright? If he were reduced to the supposed necessity of killing another to save himself, would he be justified in breaking the Christian injunction, “not to resist evil,” when he entertained a religious confidence that mercy would hereafter be extended to all that show mercy?

But it might happen, as it often has happened, that the necessity of violent resistance might not be real, and that, in the very crisis of alarm, by some unforeseen incident, life might be preserved with honor. How lamentable, then, must be the reflection to a Christian, that, by yielding to revenge, he had cut off a fellow-creature in the midst of his crimes, who, by a little kindness and persuasion from an enemy, might have been made a friend, and who, by means of salutary discipline, might have been turned from a course of wickedness to a state of acceptance with his Maker!

The argument which supports the necessity of force being opposed to force, assumes that, nations or individuals being

threatened, and life, or liberty, or property, being in consequence endangered, arms must be resorted to for the purpose of affording protection: therefore, that those who meditate or offer violence, are to be resisted with violence, as a matter of course, and, if possible, put to death.

Now, who is competent to judge of the necessity and the danger, supposing the plea to be admitted? Is he who is impelled by fear or anger? or the sensitive politician who weaves his web at every court, and is tremblingly alive to each of its vibrations? or is the weaker state, when threatened by the stronger, the more competent judge?

There is no one, surely, more unfit for judging dispassionately of what is right to be done in cases of imminent peril, than the fearful. Fear pictures imaginary dangers. It excludes all reliance upon Providence. It therefore moves the mind from the settled resting-place of fortitude, in which it is best prepared to meet and to overcome danger by moral intrepidity. Hence fear ought not to govern a rational being in the midst of peril, either as a motive or a guide. What has the man of integrity to fear?

With respect to the quick and headlong impulse of anger, he that seeks to attain any rational end, while under its influence, instead of waiting for a calm, "puts to sea in the violence of a storm." As the instinctive principles which comprehend the appetites and desires must be restrained, so nothing is more true than that moral and intellectual beings are not to suffer the animal principle of resentment to hurry them, indiscriminately, and without deliberation, into action.

If it be said that, in well-disciplined armies, the impulse is neither that of fear nor anger, but that of military duty, and therefore to them these strictures do not apply; we admit the objection so far as it refers to armies as instruments. But the case is widely different with those who make use of them. The soldier, being reduced, by a voluntary act, to the state of passive obedience, makes a conscience of submitting his will in every thing to that of his superior; whether he be commanded to shoot his fellow-soldier, or to destroy his enemy and burn his habitation, or to seize the property of his countrymen, or to expose his own life to certain destruction: and if he conscientiously believes this duty to be paramount, far be it from us to condemn him. We have not to do with the different degrees of light in the minds of men, but with the light of Scripture—the clear and explicit commands of Christ. When it can be proved from these, that a man *may resist evil, may pursue his*

revenge with the sword, may hate his enemy and take away his life, then we will give up the argument. But we think there would be more honesty in avowing that the yoke of Christian discipline is too hard for us to bear, than in attempting to reconcile the duty of forbearance with revenge, the love of our enemies with their destruction, and the peaceful character with the warlike.

The Christian law has respect to the highest degree of human excellence: it admits no inferior standard of virtue: it will have men to be Christians in deed and in truth. It does not insist upon precise conformity in some, and allow partial conformity in others, merely because the latter choose a path for themselves not quite so straight. There is but one pattern of excellence proposed to all for imitation. All may fall short in degree: but no man is allowed to content himself with a relaxed discipline, or to fix any inferior rule. If so, the rule might vary in every community; and at last the conqueror might be esteemed more noble than the martyr; and the warlike Mahomet be set up as a more worthy example for men to follow than the peaceful Messiah.

Whatever allowance, therefore, may be made in the case of the hired soldier, to those at the helm of Christian states, as lawgivers and counsellors, who send him upon his commission, and give the impulse to his movements, the same indulgence cannot, upon Christian principles, be extended. Whether these may call it honor or national independence, for which they have recourse to arms, it cannot be doubted that the real motives for organizing armies arise from fear, jealousy, or resentment.

Now, these are motives which ought not to enter into the mind of a Christian, much less to influence his conduct. With respect, indeed, to resentment, it would be more creditable, at least to humanity, that men should go forward to the work of death under this animal influence,—because brute passion extinguishes for the time what is generous and amiable,—than under the factitious and delusive influence of any other principle which has acquired a specious name among men, and which seems to permit the growth of good and evil together,—one of the most dangerous kinds of union, because they are then so apt to be confounded,—such as honor, glory, and love of country. Human nature, the more it is refined and enlightened, the more it ought to possess of the milk of human kindness, and the less of a thirst for blood. True honor, true glory, true

love of country, if the terms were rightly understood, would effectually restrain the inhabitants of any nation, who knew their real interests, from engaging in conflicts that must tend unavoidably to demoralize their countrymen, to waste their strength and resources, and to subject themselves to reprisals from their enemies. But honor, glory, and love of country, by means of capricious and false associations, which artfully cover a deformity that could not be endured if the vail were removed, have long been prostituted to ends alike derogatory to reason, and abhorrent from the meek spirit of Christianity, and cannot, therefore, in any way, be supposed to exalt the dignity of human nature. If military glory could have this effect, the world ought to be used as a great arena, on which contending armies should be perpetually struggling for the support and exercise of the *military virtues*; and not be (as Christians profess it should be) a theatre for the display of benevolence, the diffusion of knowledge, the propagation of truth, the improvement and happiness of the human race, and the universal spread of peace and righteousness.

Some of the cases of presumed necessity, which have been urged by politicians, for embroiling two nations in war, are almost calculated to excite a smile—if it were possible to excite a smile on such a subject. The reasons have been so puerile, and the causes of difference so easy to have been removed by a little mutual concession, that it is marvellous that any stress should have been laid on such pretended justifications; for these are seen by the dispassionate observers at a distance, in their true light, as unworthy of the least consideration, in the scale of humanity and true national glory. The sensitive jealousy of politicians towards rival nations is always rankling as in a state of feverish excitement. To them, “trifles light as air” are strong confirmations of intended coolness and hostility. They raise the phantom, and they pursue it. Hence a political necessity for war has been urged, on account of an obsolete claim of some insignificant portion of territory, or an alleged insult offered to a flag or an ambassador, or a breach of some state punctilio, or the exclusive monopoly of some article of commerce, or some private pique between rulers or ministers, or the fancied undue preponderance in the scale of balanced power, or some other of the many bubbles blown by secret ambition, and constantly floating in the fluctuating element of diplomatic intrigue. It is manifest that every one of these causes could really have no more to

do with *necessity* than the appearance of a comet; which, in times of superstition, it was imagined, *did* exert some *necessary* influence in producing war.

—————“The comet from its flaming hair
Shakes down diseases, pestilence, and war.”

Pope's Homer.

When a weak state is menaced by one that is powerful, there is, *prima facie*, a strong justification for taking up arms to defend what are called its Rights. The cause is supposed to be one which Heaven must approve. The love of liberty, natural to man, awakes enthusiasm; the God of justice is invoked in aid of the enterprise; and, as if to encourage and embolden, the secret prayers of the friends of civil liberty in all countries, *who look at the object without regarding the means*, are put up for its success. And what are the usual consequences? As if the Almighty Controller of human events designed to show his creature man, that, in this age of the world, it is not by savage contention that the ends of his sovereign justice should be attained in the earth, the weak state is overthrown; wickedness is triumphant; thousands perhaps are slain; and the remainder reduced to a condition far more abject and degraded than if they had submitted peaceably to the aggression, with no other appearance of resistance than that moral sting which an unoffending and peaceable state throws against its adversary, when it protests, firmly and energetically, with reason and justice on its side, against wanton and unprincipled aggression. In so hard a case as the latter, as human nature is constituted, the very agents would be ashamed of the commission they had undertaken; and they would be disposed, as far as lay in their power, to lessen the weight of oppression upon the innocent, instead of adding to the burden.

Of all the reasonings in favor of the use of arms, there is none which comes home more closely to flesh and blood, or is more triumphantly urged against the disciple of peace, than that which supposes the circumstance of a civil war, and of a murderer at our own houses. In civil wars, it is well known that violence, as in the contentions of kindred, rages with unnatural fury; for men will bear oppression from strangers better than from their own countrymen; so that he who professes to be neutral, instead of being regarded as a friend, is commonly looked upon as an enemy by both parties.

And, when the peace of a family circle is invaded, and instant destruction seems to be impending over our dearest connections, all that is human within us is roused by the argument in question, to justify the immediate attempt to destroy the guilty for the purpose of defending the innocent.

Abstractedly viewing the two cases, there could scarcely be a difference of opinion respecting the course a man of common worldly prudence would adopt.

In the one case, he would connect himself with one side or the other, as well to secure his safety as to fulfil what he might consider a point of duty. In the other, he would obey the impulse of his sensitive nature, and would pursue the first bent of his mind, not only in resisting the meditated wrong, but in taking away the life of his opponent. With those to whom this world is every thing, and father, mother, wife, children, friends, riches, possessions, privileges, and life, are dearer than the cross of Christ, with the promises of a blessed immortality annexed, it is perfectly clear that it would be nugatory to argue in this matter. But with any who place their hopes in heaven, and their reliance upon Providence, and who would rather surrender the object most dear to them than violate the least of the commands of the Prince of Peace, a momentary inquiry at least might be admitted:—

Will Heaven indeed permit the arm of violence to rob me, when obeying the commands of Christ, of my friends or property, and perhaps my life? And shall I obey his commands by pursuing my enemy even to death? by hurrying an assassin to the grave in the midst of his crime, who may possibly become my friend, and sincerely repent of his wicked design? Shall I resist the violent on his own ground, with his own weapons, and on his own principles—those of violence? If I do, how then is the standard of peace to be supported in the world? How is the example of Christ himself initiated and recommended to others by such conduct?

If the first impulse is right, and must be obeyed, these questions are not appropriate; but if these questions strike the sincere Christian with any weight, and cannot be answered without serious misgivings, it is most probable that the first impulse is wrong, or, at least, that it is to be restrained by a higher principle.

After all, therefore, that can be said on either side, we must at last come to this question: whether the Lord's devoted followers, the peacemakers on whom Christ

pronounced his blessing, (not Christians by name and tradition only — not those who would cement the interests of two worlds together which are incompatible,) are to rely upon Divine Providence in their extremity, or on the use of means which seem directly to involve a breach of the laws of Christ, and to foster the indulgence of propensities entirely opposed to the enlargement of his peaceful kingdom. It is impossible to argue the case upon Christian principles, without distinct reference to the immediate care of Providence; for, unless this be taken for granted, all human reasoning is against the principles we defend. If this be admitted, with those proper limitations which man's free agency requires, the cause of truth, and innocence, and justice, must be the cause of God himself, and defensible only by moral weapons. He that proceeds to violence in the support of moral order, usurps the sceptre of the Sovereign Ruler, and employs the thunder, and the earthquake, and the flood, and the lightning, against his fellow-creature. But there is this essential difference: in the hands of the Almighty, the elemental conflict is succeeded by a state of calm, and it contributes to some good natural design, bringing things into harmony; whereas, in the hands of man, when he attempts to wield the instruments of vengeance — in other words, of physical power — against his enemy, whatever calm may ensue, it is not the quiet of harmony, but of smothered hate, ready, on the first slight occasion, to burst into fury. In the one case, there is only a deformity of the natural world, which is slight and transient, and salutary in its effects; in the other, a state of moral disorder, which the conflict does not terminate, but aggravates by producing heart-burnings and misery, and various forms of moral evil. For it must be confessed, that war puts in operation a more demoralizing, inhuman, and unchristian machinery, than was ever devised by the perverted ingenuity of man. Its causes and its effects go hand in hand, and, like the tree and its fruits, betray their near affinity. On one side, we may see the lust of dominion and of military fame, with its aspiring notions; on the other, fear and revenge, with its low, degrading passions, all alike antichristian, entering into the motives.

As to the effects, we shall scarcely err in affirming, that few conquerors ever yet returned from battle, without some secret stings of conscience; nor armies, without more or less moral corruption; nor has any nation ever withdrawn itself from a contest without paying a severe and bloody price for all its victories. Cicero would not have declared that *he*

preferred the most unjust and disadvantageous peace to the justest war—"Iniquissimam pacem justissimo bello antefero"—if his experience had not proved this to be the case. It cannot be doubted that he deduced this conclusion from facts more than from theory. And Tacitus, another enlightened Roman, takes it for granted as a thing in itself obvious,—*that it was infinitely better for a nation to cultivate peace than to perplex itself with war*—"Quis ignorat satius ac melius esse pace frui quam bello vexari?" It is not to be supposed that heathen statesmen would have established principles like these in direct opposition to fact and expediency. How strong, then, must be the ground taken by the Christian statesman, in advocating peace, when he finds that the principles of that religion which was sent to lead human nature to its highest perfection, confirm the practical conclusions of the wise heathen! No man can be so bold as to argue that any one of the precepts of Christ, or any part of his conduct, can be construed into a direct or indirect vindication of war. On the other hand, the positive injunctions to maintain peace, and to subdue the elements of war, are numerous and unequivocal. And the same thing may be said of the Apostles, with the casual exception of Peter, who met with a signal reproof at the time, strong enough to establish the law of peace forever: "Put up thy sword into the sheath: for all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword."

It has therefore been discovered by experience, (and experience is in unison with the pure doctrines of Christianity,) that there are principles of human conduct—principles opposed to brute violence in all its forms—whose operation is so powerful, that, while they prove a support to the innocent, by turning them to an Almighty Protector, they soften the fury of their oppressors, and frequently change it into admiration; so that these oppressors cannot but observe the contrast between the self-protecting armor of piety and the desolating instruments of cruelty.

It is a fact of not unfrequent occurrence, that, when things have been brought to the most critical juncture, and, according to human apprehension, death or bondage has been inevitable, those who have been enabled to trust with meekness in Divine help, have experienced wonderful preservation. And, on the contrary, how many examples are there of those who have resisted violence by violence, falling victims! So that active resistance, it would appear, often defeats its end; while non-resistance, accompanied

with suitable dispositions, has the immediate effect of disarming ferocity, and suspending the meditated blow. It is not necessary to look far into human nature to explain the theory of these moral phenomena. But it is time that Christian statesmen should know, and that they should act upon the conviction, that the system of Christianity contains the profoundest principles of philosophy, as well as of Divine truth; and that, so far from being visionary in their application, these principles are of the highest practical utility, at all times, and under all circumstances: and happy are they who have faith to put them in practice, whether as individuals or as nations.

The preceding observations are made with a view to prepare the reader's mind for the following narrative, and to illustrate the nature and operation of the principles of Peace; and the events are recorded for the purpose of showing, by well-authenticated facts, how a Christian Society, professing and acting upon these principles, conducted itself in the afflicting crisis of civil warfare; when many individuals and families of this Society, from time to time, found themselves at the mercy, and, at least outwardly, in the power, of some of the most undisciplined of their fellow-creatures.

It is supposed that facts will have greater influence in convincing the judgment, than reasonings, however clear, or precepts, however highly sanctioned.

The first class of incidents about to be recorded, relates to the peculiar trials experienced by some members of the Society, in the county of Wexford, the principal theatre of contention in the South, in consequence of their determination to take no part in war, as well as to the manner in which they were preserved. The next relates to the threats and dangers to which they were subjected, for the firmness and faithfulness with which they endeavored to discharge the important duty of religious worship, and to the way in which these threats were defeated. A third class, to which the reader's attention will be directed, refers to the trials, connected in some degree with the last, arising from the refusal of many individuals to conform to the ceremonies of the Romish church, which exposed them, in the circle of their families, as well as abroad, to the danger of instant death. And the fourth class will embrace a more compre-

hensive range of incident relating to the Society, in other parts of the country which were the scenes of commotion.

In every place, it will appear that the same principles of conduct produced effects of a similar description.

CHAPTER II.

State of the Society of Friends, previous to, and during the Rebellion.

It is generally known, that an objection to take part in War, in any shape, forms one of the tenets of the Society of Friends, commonly called Quakers. This objection is purely religious, and is founded upon what they conceive to be the spirit of the Gospel dispensation, as it is illustrated in the precepts of Christ and his Apostles, and exemplified in their practice. They consider that it must follow as a necessary consequence, that a religion breathing peace and good-will to men, cannot, in any case, be supported by the spirit of War. They believe that, on the contrary, the practice of this evil among the professors of Christianity has tended, more than any other circumstance, to prevent its propagation in the world, to tarnish its excellency in the eyes of Jews and Pagans, and to confirm their speculative and practical errors. As it was not by the secular arm, but in direct opposition to the sword, that it insinuated itself into the minds of men, and was first promulgated; so they believe, that its final establishment in the nations of the earth will be effected through the medium of the softening influence of its pacific spirit, and by the glorious example of peace and concord among its followers.

In the year 1798, the state of Ireland afforded a striking occasion to the members of this Society, who are scattered abroad in different parts of that kingdom, to put the efficacy of their peaceful principles to the test. It is, however, to be presumed, that, even if outward preservation had not been experienced, they who conscientiously take the maxims of Peace for the rule of their conduct, would hold it not less their duty to conform to these principles; because the reward of such as endeavor to act in obedience to their Divine

Master's will, is not always to be looked for in the present life. While, therefore, the fact of their outward preservation would be no sufficient argument to themselves that they had acted as they ought to act in such a crisis, it affords a striking lesson to those who will take no principle, that has not been verified by experience, for a rule of human conduct, even if it should have the sanction of Divine authority.

When a kingdom is divided in itself, it is difficult for any to remain neutral. Either the passions of human nature, by the influence of many private and public bonds, will be pressed to a near union with one of the contending parties, or the Christian principle of universal charity must operate, uniformly and powerfully, in maintaining a dignified and amicable relation with all. It is therefore necessary to subdue the natural propensity which we feel to imbibe the fears, hopes, wishes, and prejudices, of our neighbor, to bear his reproach for our seeming apathy, and in this way to clear the avenue of the mind from the seeds of contention, that in reality, as well as by profession, we may be followers of Peace.

Whatever secret and slowly-operating causes might have conspired to produce the Rebellion of 1798, it is certain that different objects were proposed by two great classes of the insurgents. By some, civil liberty—a specious pretence, in all ages, to the warm and enterprising,—by others, uniformity in religious faith—an imposing object to the dark and bigoted, were held up as justifiable reasons for erecting the standard of sedition, and plunging their native country into the horrors of a civil war. The members of a Society which neither united with the political nor the religious views of these factious bands, might naturally be looked upon with suspicion by both; at least, they were not likely to be considered as friends; and, as a part of the community, which did not exert itself actively in aiding the power it was bound, in all cases of purely civil obligation, to obey, in order to suppress a rebellion, the motives and objects of which it could not possibly approve, the Society, in its relation to the government, seemed to manifest but a spurious loyalty. It was, in fact, openly charged, not only with a dereliction of its civil duties, but with a tacit reliance upon its neighbors, to step forward in the defence of rights and privileges, in which it was as much interested as others. Hence, whatever forbearance the government itself was disposed to exercise towards the Society, the professed loyalists, as they were termed, regarded its members in no more favorable light than

as drones, unwilling to work, and ready to feed upon the honey supplied by the industrious bees. Whether some individuals, who, having the name, were but little bound to the principles of the Society, might not have deserved this imputation, is not a matter of much moment. For, were the question to be decided in the affirmative, the censure could neither lessen the value of the principles themselves, nor affect the general character of the body, in its conscientious support of these principles.

These were a few of the critical circumstances in which the Society of Friends was placed at this period, when private individuals belonging to it were engaged to lift up the standard of peace to their contending countrymen, and, with few exceptions, enabled to preserve a remarkable consistency on this memorable occasion. Many of these were separated at a considerable distance from each other, very often without an earthly counsellor to flee to, and therefore deprived of any other refuge than the light and law of God in their own hearts.

Long before the rising, a spirit of contention was working in the minds of the people; opposed factions were increasing their numbers, and marking out friends and foes; in the silence and gloomy reserve which characterized the multitude, a storm was seen to be gathering; and it appeared obvious, that, as deep-seated animosity was concentrating its forces on either side, nothing short of a dreadful conflict could extinguish their mutual hatred in mutual slaughter. If the members of the Society in question did not anticipate this calamity, they seem, at least, to have wisely taken some precautions against it. One of the means adopted by the insurgents, in the first place, to prepare for the struggle, and by the constituted authorities, in the next, to defeat their purpose, was the robbery and the search for arms in private houses. So early as the year 1796, and in one particular province in 1795, the Quarterly Meetings of the Society were induced to recommend to all their members, through the medium of Monthly Meetings, that those individuals who had guns or other weapons in their houses should destroy them; and the General or National Meeting of 1796 confirmed this recommendation, in order, as the document states, "to prevent their being made use of to the destruction of any of our fellow-creatures, — and more fully and clearly to support our peaceable and Christian testimony in these perilous times."

Committees were appointed by the several Monthly

Meetings throughout the Society, to go round to the different members for this purpose; and it appears that, in most families, these committees had little more to do than to communicate their business, some having previously destroyed all such instruments, and others giving full expectation of their intention immediately to comply with the recommendation of the superior meetings, whilst a few, who could not be prevailed upon to make this sacrifice, were found to have been generally inconsistent in their conduct in other respects, so that they soon incurred the censure of the Society, and suffered disownment. It was certified that, upon the whole, the labors of the members to carry this wholesome advice into effect were attended with a considerable degree of success.

It is related by an individual who resided at Ferns, in the county of Wexford, that, being appointed on one of these committees, he saw the necessity of first cleansing his own hands; and he took a fowling-piece which he had, and broke it in pieces in the street opposite to his own house; an example of fidelity to his principles, and a spectacle of wonder to his neighbors.

A little after this, when the government ordered all arms to be given up to the magistrates, it was a source of satisfaction to many, that, in a general way, the members of the Society were found to be without any such thing in their possession.

On this head, a circumstance, relating to the Friend above alluded to, deserves to be noticed; as it shows at once the uncertainty of life, and the weakness of human dependency. But, in stating this fact, or others of a similar nature, the author hopes none of his readers will imagine that he is anxious to hold up such events to view, as in the light of judgments upon those who did not see the religious necessity of abstaining from war. Many well-disposed persons, of different denominations, he has no doubt, were permitted to be cut off by the arm of violence, during the time of the Rebellion, in mercy, and not in judgment. It is the object of this publication to record simply the facts: it is not for the author to judge any of his fellow-creatures.

Some of the neighboring magistrates, with the clergyman of the parish, came to his house, and, the Friend being absent, expostulated with his wife on the supposed impropriety of his having destroyed his gun, instead of giving it up to the government, for the alleged purpose of defending the loyalists against the fomenters and plotters of rebellion, and

for the preservation of himself and his family. On which occasion, the clergyman, who seems to have been an amiable man, made this spontaneous remark, "That he believed the Friend had put his confidence in a higher power." On the day the town of Enniscorthy was burned, this clergyman was murdered, and his body, with many others, was exposed for several days in the streets, where they were left to be eaten by the swine, till party rage had so far subsided as to embolden a few Friends to bury their remains. One of the magistrates was also murdered, and his house was burned over the body.

As the members of the Society, at so early a period as the year 1796, by taking the precautionary step of destroying their arms, manifested to the government their peaceable intentions; so, in the few months of turbulence and dismay which immediately preceded the Rebellion of 1798, they were in a considerable degree relieved from the midnight depredations of the rebels, to which most of their neighbors were exposed, in the lawless search for destructive weapons; because it was now generally known that none such were kept in their houses. And the National Meeting of the Society was concerned officially to acknowledge its belief, "that this early destruction of these instruments was, under Providence, a means of lessening in some degree the effusion of human blood, (as these weapons would probably have fallen into the hands of violent men,) and might have also tended to preserve some of the members of the Society themselves from blood, who, if they had had guns in their houses, might have used them in an unguarded moment of surprise or attack, so as to take away the lives of their fellow-creatures."

A Friend, living near the town of Taghmon, remarks, that he had personal proof of the advantage of having destroyed the guns kept for domestic purposes; and he gives the following instance: "Two parties of insurgents coming near my father's residence during the Rebellion, an individual of one party of them snapped a gun at the other; when an armed man came to the front door, and, on my coming towards him, presented his gun at my breast, asserting that a gun had been snapped at their party by some person of our family. I then felt less of fear than often, during that period, when in less apparent danger, and told him we had destroyed our guns, and that there had been no arms in the house, except what their party brought into it, for a considerable time; appealing to our servants, who confirmed the truth

thereof. And, soon after, some, probably of his party, came, and he, being, I supposed, informed of the real circumstances of the case, withdrew, when I saw one of the party, whom I had some knowledge of, and who appeared friendly disposed to me; and, on going to speak with him, I saw, in the passage to the house, numbers sitting in groups, as if consulting on what had occurred."

As the state of public affairs was drawing nearer to a crisis, the situation of the Society, especially of those who resided in the vicinity of the contending parties, was a subject of deep and awful solicitude to its feeling members; and many individuals had the efficacy of their religious principles against War, put, in various ways, to severe proof.

Amongst these, the Friend before alluded to, residing in the village of Ferns, in the county of Wexford, who is represented to have been constitutionally weak in body and timid in disposition, had to endure a considerable share of close trials; and, notwithstanding his natural infirmities, it appears that, in most cases, he was enabled to support his principles with exemplary firmness.

A party of militia being stationed at Ferns, the Earl of M—, who commanded, came to this Friend, and desired he would give up part of his house, which was then used as a store, for a guard-house for the soldiers. The requisition being sudden, the Friend was put to a stand what he should answer; and, although he might have refused it on the ground of its being occupied as a store, yet, knowing that this inconvenience could be obviated, he was not easy to cloak the real cause of objection with any disguise or subterfuge. Considering, therefore, that this was a fit opportunity to lift up the standard of peace, and to bear his testimony against war, he honestly told the commander, "that the apartment he requested was occupied as a store-room,—but, besides, that the purposes for which it was wanted were such as he could not unite with, having a conscientious scruple against war, and every thing connected with it." Upon this, the Earl of M— grew very angry, and desired the soldiers who were with him to afford the Friend no protection, in case any disturbance should arise. To this observation the latter replied, that "he hoped he should not trust to or apply for military protection." The commander went away greatly displeased, and seemed to mark out this Friend as a disaffected person; indeed, he did not know how soon a prison might be his lot, especially as one of the militia-men, who was quartered at his house for many weeks,

being entertained at free cost, propagated many false reports of him, with respect to political matters; so that his situation became increasingly perilous.

Some months after this, the military began to act with great rigor towards those that were suspected of being United Irishmen,*—burning their houses and stacks of corn, &c., and fastening caps besmeared with pitch upon their heads. They were preparing to burn a house of this description in the village of Ferns; and the same Friend, feeling pity for the man's wife and children, who would thus be deprived of a habitation, was induced to intercede with the commanding officer of the militia on their behalf, stating, that he did not come to intermeddle between him and the suspected man, but, pitying the poor wife and children, he thought it would be hard treatment to deprive *them* of shelter, and the means of subsistence, when the man was fully in his power; adding, "though *he* might be criminal, probably *they* were innocent of his crime." During this expostulation, the officer became very warm in his temper, and charged the Quakers with meddling, in some cases, to prevent the execution of justice, when, in others, they would give no assistance to the government.

A short time after this, when the United Irishmen got the ascendancy in the town, this Friend was enabled to render the officer some important services; and, from the grateful acknowledgments expressed by the latter in return, he had the satisfaction of thinking that the prejudice of the officer was not only removed, but exchanged for a feeling of friendship. This occurrence afforded an interesting example of the blessed fruits of a peaceable conduct; the same individual using his influence *alternately* with both parties, whilst in power,—an influence which nothing but an undeviating course of benevolence towards all his fellow-creatures could give him,—to intercede for the depressed and afflicted.

On another occasion, the militia were preparing to hang some suspected persons, for not delivering up their weapons, and to fasten pitch caps on the heads of others. The Friend was fearful of being applied to for ropes, which he had for

* Those who opposed the Insurgents were sometimes called Loyalists, Orangemen, Protestants, Yeomen.—The Insurgents were also termed Pikemen, United Irishmen, Rebels; and sometimes they were even termed Roman Catholics, as chiefly consisting of that class, at least in the South of Ireland.

sale, as he could not be easy to sell them for that purpose; and yet he saw that refusal might involve him in some danger, as martial law had been proclaimed, and life and property were subjected to military discretion. However, when some of the military came to buy ropes and linen, he had the courage to refuse to sell what was intended to torment or destroy a fellow-creature. The articles were accordingly taken by force; and, though payment was offered, he refused it.

This occurrence took place a little before the general rising of the United Irishmen in that part of the country, and he had reason to believe that, under the direction of Providence, it contributed to the preservation of himself and his family, at that juncture.

For, the Rebels having received information that he refused to sell ropes to the military for the purpose of hanging them, and pitch to put on the caps to torment them, placed a sentry at his door, the day they entered the town, to protect his house from destruction. And, a short time after this, when the army was approaching, and the United Men were about to fly from the place, some of the latter told him, that, when the soldiers entered, they would consider every house that was not damaged as belonging to a Rebel or disaffected person; and, in order to preserve *his house* from destruction by the military, and probably to save the lives of the inhabitants, *they would break the windows before they took leave of him*; which they accordingly did, and his house was not attacked by the soldiers.—This fact, however, is a little beyond the date of the narrative.

To return, therefore, to the order of events;—the same Friend observing that, on the eve of the insurrection, a melancholy silence prevailed, he inquired of a person if there was any thing more than usual in prospect, and was told that the country-people were collecting in large bodies. At this intelligence, a cloud of darkness, as he described it, overspread his mind, and he was brought to a state of unutterable distress. He knew, indeed, that he had endeavored to place his dependence on an Almighty Protector. But the feelings natural to every human being possessed of a Christian, peaceable disposition, at the prospect of the gulf that was opening to thousands of his misguided fellow-creatures, of the ruin and desolation about to fall upon his country, and of imminent danger to himself and his family, produced for some hours a conflict, of which he found it

impossible to convey an adequate idea, and almost beyond what he seemed able to endure.

At midnight, the town was filled with consternation, guards and divisions of the army were placed in different quarters; and the Protestant inhabitants were in continual terror.

He prevailed upon his family to retire to bed, but they could not sleep; yet they endeavored to attain that solemn retirement of soul, in which it is best prepared to meet the calamities of life, and to rely on the mercy and power of Omnipotence.

Early in the morning, while he was in much anxiety as to the event, a person, whom he supposed to be one of the United Irishmen, came into the house, and said, "Let who may be killed, the Quakers will be spared." These words, trifling as they might appear, seemed to him, at the time, like the intimation given to Gideon, when he was listening to the man in the Midianites' camp telling his dream to his fellow, which tended to dissipate his fears, and to confirm his confidence. He then felt his mind somewhat encouraged to hope that their lives would be preserved.

On that morning, the scene was very awful; the houses and haggards of corn were in flames in every direction around them, some being set on fire by the yeomanry, and others by their enemies; so that, between the two parties, total devastation seemed to be at hand. The Protestant inhabitants were fleeing into the towns and villages for safety, and the military guards under arms in all quarters;—persons flying into town, having escaped from the hands of murderers in the country; some of them wounded, and bringing the news of others that were slain. Property was then of little account; for it was every one's concern to escape with his life.

Being informed that some of the fugitive Protestants were exceedingly in want of something to eat, the same Friend had victuals prepared, and sent to invite them to allay their hunger; but it so happened, that none of them came to avail themselves of his benevolence.

The scene now became changed, though the prospect was still gloomy. For, in the evening, the military left the town, and marched to Enniscorthy; and, together with the army, not only the Protestants who came into Ferns for safety, but those who resided in the village.

He was not aware of their departure till he observed that the place was almost depopulated. A state of things so

opposite, though it was accompanied with marks of desolation, gave, however, a little time to contrast the quiet of peace with the alarms of war; and, though short, this interval of calm was looked upon as a favor.

But, in regard to the issue, his mind was still occupied with painful suspense, which continued till the next morning, when the town and neighborhood became filled with an undisciplined and ungovernable multitude, consisting of many thousands of the United Irishmen, following the footsteps of the army to Enniscorthy, and demolishing the houses of those called Loyalists and Orangemen, — for their owners were fled.

His house was soon filled with these people; when, to his astonishment and humbling admiration, instead of the massacre he and his family had dreaded, they were met by caresses and marks of friendship; the Insurgents declaring that they intended them no injury, but would fight for them, and protect them, and put them in their bosoms; adding, that they required nothing but provisions. They seemed, indeed, to be in extreme want of something to eat, *and the victuals which had been prepared for those they called enemies, were now ready for them.* When they had therefore consumed what was provided, they proceeded on their route to Enniscorthy.

Soon after, in the direction of this town, which was about six miles distant, the columns of smoke could be seen rising from the burning houses; and in the evening some of the United Men returned, with tidings that Enniscorthy was in their possession, and that their camp was fixed on Vinegar Hill, over the town.

The next day, a man with a malicious expression of countenance, and having a long spit in his hand, came to the Friend, and threatened to kill him, for some alleged offence, saying, "I have killed Turner," (meaning a neighboring magistrate,) "and have burned him in his own house, and now I will *rack** you as I please." He endeavored to convince the man of his mistake; and, being joined by the persuasions of a neighbor, with much difficulty prevailed upon him to be quiet; so that at length he parted in friendship.

The day after Enniscorthy was taken by the Insurgents, several of the poor distressed Protestants, mostly women, returned homeward to the village, which they had deserted

* The term *Rack* was in common use during the Rebellion, to denote the entire demolition of the interior of the houses of those who were considered enemies.

when the army left it. Two females, servants to the Bishop of Ferns, and a woman whose husband was killed the day before, came, with the children of the latter, to the Friend's door, as persons that had no dwelling-place. They stood in the street, looking up and down in all the eloquence of silent distress. Though he had but small accommodation, his heart and his house were both open to the afflicted; and, notwithstanding the severe threatenings he received from the *then* ruling party, for entertaining those to whom they were hostile, he and his family endeavored to accommodate all they could without distinction. Even of the United Irishmen, such as staid in the town, and as many of their wives and families as could find room, used to come to his house at night to lodge, supposing themselves more secure than in their own habitations.

This was also the case in the houses of most other members of the Society, in any way exposed to the contending parties. And, in such a state of anarchy, when all laws were disregarded, and every man acted according to his own will, however perverse, it was not surprising that instances of ingratitude should now and then appear: one of these may be mentioned:—Previously to the breaking out of the rebellion, the military had destroyed the habitation and property of a neighboring farmer, who, with his family, sought shelter at the house of another member of the Society, near Ferns. He provided them with one of his out-houses to live in, until they could better their condition. But when *their* party got the ascendancy, the farmer took possession of his protector's dwelling-house, and manifested his intention of turning him and his family out of it; and probably would have carried it into execution, had not the short duration of the United Irishmen's power prevented this ungrateful determination.

It may be noticed that, during the continuance of the struggle, the houses of Friends appeared to be marked out for places of entertainment. They were almost constantly full, day and night; and it was matter of surprise that their provisions held out as they did to the end of the conflict. The members of the Society, and some of the *then* oppressed party, sometimes conveyed provisions to one another privately. The United Men sometimes offered part of their own stock; but when it was known to be plunder, or, as it was called, the spoils of war, the Friends declined to accept it; and it was evident that such refusal was mostly taken in the light of an offence. Indeed, the United Men often discovered their

chagrin because they could not prevail upon the members of the Society to unite with them in their requisitions.

From the number of United Men, who came to lodge almost every night in the Friends' houses, these were in continual danger of falling a prey to the King's army, if it should make an attack on the town; and, on the other hand, the Friends were continually threatened by the pikemen for not turning out the poor fugitive Protestant women and their children, who had taken shelter under their roofs. But, although they appeared to be in danger, according to human apprehension, from both parties, they were, in fact, alternately protected by both.

The Friend above mentioned, who was nearly dispossessed by the ungrateful farmer, being, at one time, much threatened for not complying in this respect, very candidly told the men who threatened him, that he would not turn out poor distressed creatures from his house, whatever might be the consequence; and, seeing his firmness, they did not enforce compliance, although they expressed great dissatisfaction.

Some of them also came one morning to the other Friend, and told him, his house was to be burned that day, in consequence of his refusal to turn out the Protestant women that were in it. He replied, that "if they did so he could not help it; but that as long as he had a house, he would keep it open to succor the distressed; and, if they burned it for that reason, he must only *turn out* along with them, and share in their affliction."

It so happened that this was the regular day on which the Meeting for Worship of the Society, in that quarter, was to be held, about a mile from Ferns; and, notwithstanding the alarming denunciation, he considered it his duty to take his family with him to Meeting, leaving his home with a heavy heart, as he expected soon to be without a habitation, as well as the means of present support. On his return to Ferns, however, he was rejoiced to see his dwelling entire; and his heart was filled with praises and thankfulness to the good Providence that had preserved it. Whatever might have been the reason that prevented them from executing the threat, their evil disposition towards him on that account seemed to be changed; for they did not make any requisition of the kind afterwards.

Throughout the calamity, it was his uniform experience, that the more he attended to what he conceived to be right in his own conduct, the more he seemed to be respected by them; even when he expostulated with them on account of

the cruelties committed by their party, as at Vinegar Hill, Wexford, and Scullabogue. They quietly listened to his remonstrance, and frequently acknowledged the wrong.

A party of the King's army, stationed in Newtown-barry, came to Ferns to disperse the United Irishmen who held possession of the place. The latter, at first, made some demonstrations as if they would risk a battle; but seeing that the regular troops opposed to them were provided with cannon, they fled away from the town. On hearing that the army was coming in, the Friend stood at his own door, lest he should be suspected of being an enemy. When the military came near his door, one of the soldiers, stepping out of the ranks, presented a gun at his breast, and was on the point of drawing the trigger, when the Friend called to him "*to desist from murder.*" The soldier, like one struck with amazement, immediately let the gun fall from his shoulder, and presently his officers interfered for the Friend's protection; whose life was thus preserved, as on the right hand and on the left.

Some of the inhabitants of this village, who were found unarmed in the houses, being made prisoners by the soldiers, they pleaded their innocence; but, in such a state of things, they could not easily prove it. The commanding officer therefore desired, that if there were any Quakers in the town, they would get certificates of good behavior from them; which, he added, he would be willing to accept, and then to liberate them. The same Friend was accordingly applied to on behalf of several, and procured their liberation. Had he been put to death by the hand of the hasty soldier, it is easy to see that those who obtained their release afterwards by his means, would probably have shared the same fate, for want of credible testimonials; and thus one sacrifice would have been added to another, and Death would have multiplied its victims without any regard to their innocence. Thus it is when violence is permitted to reign; and thus it would be on every occasion if there were not an overruling Providence to say to the peaceful sufferer in his wrongs — "It is enough;" and to the proud oppressor in his fury — "Thus far shalt thou go."

A Friend of Enniscorthy informed an acquaintance that, on the day when the town was taken from the rebels by the army, he was in great distress, thinking it the most critical and dangerous time of the whole; for he supposed that, on the entrance of the soldiers, they would consider that every man, whom they found alive in colored clothes, was a rebel, and consequently would put him to death. As he was walking

up and down one of the upper street-rooms of his house, he heard voices in the street, and, looking out, saw some soldiers carrying a wounded man, (supposed to be an officer,) and seeking for a place of safety in which to deposit their charge. The Friend, opening the window, told them they might bring him into his house. On hearing his voice, one of the soldiers looked up, and, seeing the Friend, exclaimed, "That is a Quaker; we may safely go in there;" which they did, with their wounded comrade; and, when the main body of the army entered, seeing soldiers in the house, they went in without fear, and without injuring the place. One of the Generals took up his quarters for some time in the house.

CHAPTER III.

Of the Dangers to which the Society was exposed in the Attendance of their Meetings.

THE events which have been noticed in the last Chapter, as far as they relate to the Society of Friends, may be considered rather of a domestic nature, concerning only two or three families. It may now, therefore, be proper to say a few words as to the situation of its members in the quarter where the individual, so often alluded to, resided, viz., in the county of Wexford, with respect to the performance of their religious duties. In this part of the country, notwithstanding some of the members of the same Meeting were several miles distant from each other, they did not suffer their perplexities at home to interfere with the sacred duty of religious worship abroad, or to prevent them from traversing the country, filled with armed men, amidst dangers, if possible, still greater than those they had left, in order that they might assemble together for this solemn purpose. Consequently, in going to, and returning from, their meetings, they had to encounter many difficulties, besides the struggle between their faith and their natural fears, in leaving their houses and property a prey, perhaps, to pillage, or to the flames, during their absence. Human prudence, it is likely, would have induced them, in such an awful extremity, to remain at home, and to look after their outward affairs; but the sense of what they owed to their Maker, and to the Society of which they were members,

in many instances, overbalanced these selfish considerations; and it appears, that in most cases they left behind them a better guardian than human prudence.

Most of the horses being taken from them, the members of that particular Meeting had frequently to walk to their place of worship. The first time they did so, some of them met a man of very terrible character, who had killed a neighbor, in Ferns, a day or two before. He was, however, friendly in his behavior to them, and even offered to have them carried to their Meeting. But, though they acknowledged his civility, they did not accept his offer, pursuing their journey on foot six Irish miles.

Parties of these people often met with the Friends going to and returning from their Meeting, and they were sometimes very inquisitive to know whence they came, and whither they were going; but none of them offered any molestation, except at one time, when several Friends were passing to Meeting through Camolin, a village not far from Ferns, with a horse belonging to one, and a jaunting-car to another. A great number of United Men being in the street, and conversing about the Society, one of them said, "It was the last time the Quakers should ever go that road." After the latter had passed the crowd, a shot was fired, apparently to alarm them. The horse took fright, and broke the traces — an inconvenience they remedied as well as they were able, and afterwards proceeded quietly to their meeting-place. It was a remarkable circumstance that, before the next meeting-day came round in regular course, the power of these misguided men was overthrown.

In other parts of the county of Wexford, some of the members of the Society, having been observed by the United Men to persevere in attending their place of religious worship, notwithstanding the threats and opposition they experienced, became objects of this party's displeasure, and were apprized, that, if they persisted, they should be taken to the Altar of a neighboring Chapel, and suffer the penalty of their obstinacy.

A large and respectable family of the Society, though they were often threatened and advised by a priest and others to stay at home for some time, or at least to go by some private way, did not feel that it would be right for them to go to Meeting by any other than the usual way, along the high road, through the town of Taghmon, which was inhabited almost entirely by persons supposed to be friendly to the United Irishmen, and therefore unfriendly to them. Some of

these were heard to say of the Friends, "They even dare us by going through the streets, but they shall not go long;" and they used many threats, both by words and actions, to intimidate the family. The young women, who were delicately brought up, sometimes walked to and from the Meeting-place at Forrest, about four Irish miles distant, without any male attendant, and experienced no molestation, even in the very height of the commotions; their parents, from the infirmities of advanced age, being unable to accompany them. On one of these occasions, having been more than usually threatened, they remarked that a strange dog, which they could not recollect to have ever seen before, followed, or rather accompanied them home, as an escort for some miles; and, on seeing them safe to the house, which he could not be prevailed upon to enter, left them. This might have been only an accidental occurrence, but it engaged their attention at the time; and, though simple in itself, may now prove nothing more than that their minds were not resting upon human help.

Amongst the various menaces that were used to alarm the Society, some of the United Irishmen spoke "of converting the Quakers' Meeting-house at Forrest into a Romish Chapel;" and two boys were heard to say that "they would burn the Quakers in their place of worship the next meeting day." A member of that Meeting, residing near, was also informed that the Meeting-house should be burned; and that he and his large family should be destroyed, if he attempted to go there again; and in order to intimidate him the more, a blunderbuss was presented at him. Another Friend was also told by a woman, that she heard several persons declare, on the very day the Rebels were driven out of their camp near Ross, "that the Quakers should never meet again at their Meeting-house in Forrest." Thus it appears that the same threat was held out to many families.

It is worthy, however, of notice, that, notwithstanding individuals and whole families were thus threatened, in different places, few were deterred from the steady pursuit of what they considered to be the path of religious duty; and the fact is to be recorded, as a monument, not to their praise, but to the mercy of that Providence which watches over the weakest of his children who trust in him, that all the machinations and evil designs of their enemies, in this as in other instances, were signally confounded; for on the very morning of the next Meeting-day at Forrest, when so many were to be devoted to destruction, and their houses to the flames, the

power of the United Irishmen was overthrown by a decisive battle near Vinegar Hill. Accordingly, about the time appointed for public worship, when the Friends met together as usual, numbers of these misguided people, who had been calculating on the possession of power to effect their own cruel ends, — instead of carrying their designs into execution, were actually assembled about the door and windows of the Meeting-house, not as a building doomed with its inmates to destruction, but *as a place of safety* to themselves; and they remained there till the meeting concluded, and the Friends had withdrawn.

It is not to be supposed that Forrest was the only Meeting where such circumstances occurred — of malignant threats appalling to human nature on one side, and of unshaken firmness in the support of religious testimonies on the other. — The members of Cooladine and Enniscorthy Meetings, in the same county, were placed nearly in the same predicament with those of Forrest. They were threatened; and, though some of them had to lament the loss of their property, and the destruction even of their houses, in the indiscriminate devastation, yet the threats of personal violence to them were found to be impotent, and their lives were providentially preserved.

The United Men told a Friend of Cooladine, that, “if the Quakers ever attempted to meet again in the Meeting-house there, it should be burned.”

When the town of Enniscorthy was in possession of the Rebels, the time of holding the Monthly Meeting there had arrived; and different members of the particular Meetings composing it, except of Ross, which was then in a state of siege, prepared to attend it. Some came from Ferns, Cooladine, and Balanclay. Although their horses were taken from some Friends on the road, by patrols from the Rebel camp at Vinegar Hill, they were not themselves prevented from pursuing their journey on foot many miles; and they entered Enniscorthy, scarcely knowing whether they would be permitted to go to their Meeting-house or not, and almost doubting whether they should find it standing. They were, however, enabled to hold their meeting for worship; but were much interrupted by persons walking and making a noise in a loft or gallery adjoining, who, after a while, went away. It appeared that these persons came with a malicious design, but that they were prevented from carrying it into execution. A large hole was observed to have been broken in the ceiling, which, the Friends were told, was made for the purpose of

setting the house more readily on fire, but that others of the party interfered to prevent it.

Soon after this Monthly Meeting of Enniscorthy, the Quarterly Meeting for Leinster Province was to be held, in due course, in the same town. As the time approached, it seemed almost impossible, from the appearance of things, that it could be accomplished. Yet many individuals, some from distant places, acting in faith and simplicity of heart, left their homes to attend it, and the way was gradually opened before them. The outward aspect of affairs at the time was, indeed, changed; for the United Men had only recently been defeated with great slaughter, and their camp was broken up. Accordingly, several Friends had to pass through heaps of slain on the road, and in some instances were obliged to remove the dead bodies of the Rebels out of the way, that they might not trample on them, to the wonder of the spectators; some of whom exclaimed — "The Quakers must be mad."

It may therefore be noticed, that, in the neighborhood of Cooladine Meeting, the camp of Vinegar Hill, a mile distant, was broken up by the battle which took place there the day before their week-day meeting occurred; and so, way seemed to be opened not only for the attendance of that meeting, but of Leinster Quarterly Meeting at Enniscorthy the day following.

At the latter, the members of the Society who attended, were comforted together, under a humbling sense of the providential care they had so largely experienced; and, having held their meetings for worship, as well as that for regulating the affairs of the Society, in much quietness, they were favored to return to their respective habitations in safety.

CHAPTER IV.

Of the Trials to which Friends were exposed for refusing to conform to the Ceremonies of the Church of Rome.

A FRIEND of Enniscorthy Meeting, residing a few miles from that town, was made prisoner at his own house, and taken by a number of pikemen to the house of a neighboring priest with whom he was intimately acquainted. The priest told him that he must become a Roman Catholic, and be christened; for that no other profession of religion was now

to be allowed. At this, the Friend was greatly surprised, and said, he had a better opinion of the priest than to suppose he would force men to make a profession of religion in opposition to their consciences. The priest replied, "there was no alternative, either to become a Roman Catholic or to be put to death." The Friend remarked, that "by so doing, they would be only making hypocrites of such as might be induced to comply; and, for his part, that he would choose to suffer, rather than to violate his conscience; that, if there was any crime laid to his charge, he was willing to be tried, and, on that ground, was not afraid to look any of them in the face." The priest, who had every thing ready for baptizing, according to their mode, seemed much disappointed, and brought him out to the pikemen to be taken to Vinegar Hill. The Friend again expostulated with the priest and pikemen together, urging that, if there was any thing worthy of death laid to his charge, he was willing to undergo a trial. The pikemen, although they seemed much displeased that he would not become a Roman Catholic, acknowledged the justness of his proposal, and, in obedience to the priest, conveyed him to their camp.

A few other Friends were also made prisoners, from different parts of the county, and were taken to the camp at Vinegar Hill, where they underwent a sort of trial; but, nothing being alleged against them, they were set at liberty. Their liberation was not a little remarkable, as many other persons were put to death, against whom no charge of enmity was brought, nor any ground of accusation, except that they were Protestants.

A Friend from Ulster, then on a religious service in that part of the country, was taken prisoner and brought to the camp; and at the time the Rebel army was performing the service of mass, as he could not take any part in their form of worship, they suffered him to remain standing alone, with his head covered, while they were on their knees, during the ceremony.

Many were the instances in which, in some parts of the country, a dark and persecuting spirit displayed itself during the rebellion.

An elderly Friend, the father of a large family, who was in a declining state of health, and whose daughters used to go alone to their meeting at Forrest, as mentioned in page 42, was one, who, from the respectability of his character and his influence in the country, was marked by the Insurgents and their leaders, as a desirable object of their proselytism, in this

reign of terror. For, as they were decidedly unwilling to take the lives of the Friends, their object was to convert them, by entreaties or by menaces, to their faith.

In the case of this Friend, they labored at it very assiduously ; for if, by any means, his conversion could have been accomplished, it is certain that they would have regarded it as a signal triumph. He was urged and threatened ; but when the attempt became hopeless, one of the priests told some of the insurgents, after inquiring, "had they not killed him yet," that "*they could not go forward until they had despatched the old man.*" One night, about twelve o'clock, a number of them entered his house, and when they had plundered it of what they wished, they snapped a pistol at him several times, seeming to be determined to take his life. After some consideration, they then insisted upon his going with them to their *main guard*, which was stationed at a distance. He made an effort to go with them, accompanied by one of his daughters ; but, feeling much weakness, and finding himself unable to proceed, he sat down under a tree in his own lawn. After a pause, which they did not seem to understand, they inquired "what he had to say." His reply was, that, "should they be permitted to take his life, he hoped the Almighty might be pleased to forgive them, and to take him in his mercy." Upon this they were silent, left him, and went quietly away.

A kinsman of this Friend, living in the country not far from him, and only a few miles from the noted Barn of Sculabogue, where a number of Protestants, men, women, and children, were collected from the neighboring country, and burned to death, had also a large family, which was exposed to much danger during the disturbances. A member of this family (the eldest son) has supplied me with the following authentic narrative of the events that occurred to himself and his relatives during that awful visitation.

"After the removal of the rebels to Carrig-Burn, we were constantly visited in the day-time by armed parties and individuals (proceeding to join the camp) for refreshment ; this we could not avoid affording them, as far as lay in our power ; it generally consisted of bread and milk, or milk and water. Few of the strangers behaved offensively, and several expressed themselves dissatisfied with the hardships their present employment rendered them subject to. Some of our neighbors — those who had been in habits of receiving little acts of kindness and assistance from us. — were those whose dispositions we afterwards found we had most cause to dread. Our horses

were about this time all taken from us, but, I believe, none other of our stock. Our servants, male and female, also left us, save one little faithful girl, who still lives in the family; but she was at length compelled from her fears to leave us. Our visits in the day-time were frequent, as I have noticed, but our nights were *generally* passed in awful tranquillity. The morning of the day on which the battle of Ross took place, with us was gloomy, and we thought we heard an indistinct rumbling in the air, (the distance is about seven miles;) but we did not then know that the *attack on that day* was meditated. We had but few visitors, and all seemed darkness and gloom with those we did see; but we at length became, in some degree, acquainted with the state of things. In the morning, my father and I walked up to the corner of our farm, where, from a bank, we saw the smoke of the Barn of Scullabogue, where the horrid scene had been just acted; but we were not then aware of this awful fact! A neighbor of ours, who was considered rather of superior rank among the farmers, called at the house in the course of the day, and made use of an odd expression, exemplifying the general feelings of his party, namely — ‘If these (meaning the rebels) gain the day in Ross, we will *dissect every Protestant in Ireland.*’ Providence was pleased to disappoint those cruel hopes and merciless intentions. Rancorous feelings, however, heightened by disappointment and defeat in this main object at Ross, now began to evince themselves. A principal actor in those scenes was a man named Kehoe, who went about our neighborhood committing murders. He shot, at his own door, the foster-father of one of my brothers, an inoffensive man, *but a Protestant*; and also a poor old man of the same *persuasion*, upwards of eighty years of age. He also formed, as is presumed, similar intentions, as regarded the whole of our family, the circumstances of which I shall, as nearly as I can recollect, relate.

“Some days after the battle of Ross, a party of men, armed, came about noon to the back door of our house, of whom this man appeared to be chief. They asked for some refreshment, and were ushered into the kitchen, and sat down at a table, and some food was set before them. A few minutes after another party, about the same number, (about eight persons,) also armed, came to the front door, and inquired if some of their men were not in the house, which was replied to by my father in the affirmative; and they were sent to join them in the kitchen, when they all sat down to the table, or near it. We were all at this time in the parlor: my dear

mother seemed to feel an impulse on her mind to go out into the kitchen, and requested my father to remain with the children in the parlor. I went with her; she carried a stocking she was knitting, and we placed ourselves with our backs to the fireplace, and immediately facing the table where this party sat. After a few moments, when they appeared to have finished their repast, they remained in a state of sullen silence, when this Kehoe raised his eyes, and sternly fixed them upon my mother. She instantly perceived it, and kept her eyes firmly fixed on his, until he bent down his head, as if confounded. A short pause of sullen silence again ensued among them; I do not believe a word was uttered by any one; and *they all, as by one impulse*, suddenly rose from their seats, went out, and went away. In the mean time the girl I have noticed went out for some turf for the fire, when she found a number of women in the out-offices, who had ropes with them, and who inquired from her anxiously — '*What are the men about? What are the men about?*' We afterwards understood that these ropes were intended to assist in carrying away the plunder, after our lives had been disposed of by this party. We were not, however, at the moment aware of *this*, their cruel intent; but soon after — I rather think it was the evening of the same day — a poor man, who had lived with us since my infancy, (whose wife had nursed one or more of the children,) and who resided with his family on our farm as a cottager, came to the house and spoke privately to my father, and told him that mischief was intended; that if he had any valuables, such as plate, &c., that he could put away, that it would be advisable, which might ultimately be of use to some of the family; and (if I mistake not) I think he offered to secrete, under the protection of his family, some of the younger children. These coming from such authority, and with a knowledge of Kehoe's character, were awful intimations; and trying, indeed, to the feelings of my dear parents, and those of us who heard them. A consultation was held, and it appeared to my dear mother's mind desirable that we should all withdraw at midnight from our dwelling, and proceed to Forrest Meeting-house, where, as the next day was that of the week-day meeting, there was a probability of seeing that venerable and worthy Friend, (long since deceased,) Joseph Poole, whose advice might be rendered useful and subservient to fixing a proper determination in such an awful crisis. Such being my dear mother's feelings, we all willingly coincided, and left the house on our pilgrimage, with all the family, about the hour appointed — our servant

girl had, from fear of what she had seen and heard, deserted us. The night was starlight, serene, and beautiful, tending to tranquillize our feelings under this dispensation of Providence. We proceeded quietly in our route, without meeting any person along the public road, until we came within a short distance of *Taghmon*, where the Rebels kept guard, when we took a short cut across the fields, leaving it about a quarter of a mile to the right. Just as we got in a direct line with it, a gun was fired in the town, which gave us some alarm; but it did not appear that we were the cause of it, and we passed on, and reached Forrest Meeting-house in safety, where we opened the shutters, &c. of one of the windows, entered the house, closed them again, and laid ourselves down in the gallery to take some repose, and await with resignation the results of the coming day. Early in the morning, the girl from the neighboring house, where the care-taker of the Meeting-house lived, came to open the shutters, and, on perceiving persons sitting in the gallery, was much alarmed, and ran away. However, my father went down to the house, and explained the circumstance; we all soon followed, and took some refreshment. Meeting was held without interruption at the usual time, which our venerable Friend alluded to, with his family and some others, attended. Our case was disclosed to him, which was solemnly considered, and it was concluded that, situated as matters were, *and that the same protecting hand of the Almighty was every where*, it was wisest to put our dependence in that Power, and return again to our home, and await our fate with fortitude and resignation. We therefore returned, passing through Taghmon, met with no molestation, and found all at our house quiet and undisturbed. In the evening, my father received a friendly note from the priest of Taghmon, who was a humane man, expressing his regret at hearing of the mischief intended him by bad characters in our neighborhood, and stating that he had sent him a guard to protect his family and his house, which he might retain if he thought proper. This guard was chiefly composed of Protestants, who had conformed, and which, I suppose, the priest thought would be most acceptable. My father felt grateful for this act of humanity and friendship; they remained that night in the house, and I believe only that one, as my father did not wish to interfere; but I doubt not, this conduct of the priest, being publicly known, tended to repress, for a time, the malevolent intentions of those wicked men.

“After these occurrences, we enjoyed about a week of

moderate tranquillity; but, about the end of that time, early one morning, before we were up, we were again visited by a hostile band, several of whom were on horseback, some neighbors and some strangers. They got admittance at the back door, where they kept guard; and four or five, with pikes and fire-arms, came up stairs, where we were in bed. Their pretence was alleged to be, that we had a person in the house who was inimical to them. This was disavowed; but they were directed to search by my father: they did so, but found no one, as they were at first informed. They appeared most maliciously angry, and one of them, in going down stairs, struck his pike through the glass of the clock, and into the dial-plate, the mark of which is still visible; others of them stabbed some tin ware, and other articles in the kitchen; and after this they all went away, some cursing and swearing, and saying they could not conceive or understand *what prevented them doing what they came to do*, or words to the same effect. It may not be improper for me here to notice an observation that I heard my dear father make — ‘that he had counted all the stabs given to the different articles by these people, (after their departure,) and found them to accord in number exactly with the number of which our family consisted!’

“This was the last visitation of this nature which we experienced. Their diabolical power was in a few days after annihilated, and good order restored, under the constitutional authorities. The government having at length made its military arrangements, the army advanced towards this county in different directions. Sir John Moore, with a brigade of thirteen light companies, and a party of Hessians, advanced from Ross, and encamped at Longrage, about three miles from us. We had notice of their approach to our neighborhood by the smoke of the burning of cottages, which marked their route, and which is generally among the melancholy concomitants of war. About noon the next day, they quitted their encampment, and were proceeding on their march towards Wexford, when they were apprized, by the firing of their advanced guard of Hessians in front, of the enemy being at hand, — Roche, the Rebel general, having advanced from near Wexford, with (it was said) near thirty thousand men, to this attack. The action commenced between two and three o’clock, P. M., and continued about three hours. The firing of cannon and musketry was heavy; and the contest, at times, from the shouts of the Rebels, appeared doubtful. We could plainly see the smoke of the fire-arms from our

windows, and numbers of persons in retreat, during the whole time, crossing our fields. Several called at the house for drink, some of whom were wounded. It was a most awful moment for us, so near the scene of action, in various shapes. Had any of the army observed their opponents receiving refreshment from us at such a crisis, it might have had serious consequences, if the motive were ever so innocent and inoffensive. But the same almighty hand that had so eminently protected us in other instances, was not shortened in this, and we were suffered to remain tranquil and unmolested. During the whole time of this calamity, some of our family regularly attended our Meeting at Forrest, through Taghmon; which we did without receiving any serious molestation. I believe a few instances occurred, in which my dear mother, from weakness, and my sisters, did not attend.

"After the close of the action of Fooksmill, in which several hundreds were killed, the army encamped on part of the field of battle, and the rebels retreated towards Wexford, where they were followed the next *day* by Sir John Moore: This *day* was also fatal to their cause at Vinegar Hill, from whence we heard the cannon resounding soon after sunrise. This combat closed their career in the county of Wexford.

"It is a circumstance worthy of remark, that some of those persons who had been so ill disposed towards us before their defeat, actually came and solicited leave to hide themselves, and some property, in our out-buildings, immediately after the battle of Fooksmill."

A female Friend, being desired by a Roman Catholic clergyman to *put up* the sign of the cross, which was worn by their party at that time, replied, that "she could not do it, but hoped the Almighty might be pleased to enable her to *bear it*." On this he did not urge her any farther.

An elderly Friend, of some opulence, who came to reside in England soon after the disturbances, with a constitution much debilitated by the hardships and persecutions he had suffered during the Rebellion, on two occasions had to experience signal preservation.—His house, which was situated in rather a lonely part of the country, was ransacked and stripped of every thing valuable, by a party of the Insurgents. Some hours after the depredation, another party entered, for the same purpose; and the captain, after demanding the property, either discrediting the Friend's simple statement of what had already occurred, or irritated at the disappointment, raised his sword to murder the venerable

man, when his wife, rising from her seat, with much emotion and firmness exclaimed, "Thou canst not touch a hair of my husband's head, unless Divine Providence permit thee." The man was so struck by her Christian fortitude, that he let the sword drop from his hand; and, stooping to pick it up, without uttering a word, he turned away quietly, and withdrew his men. On another occasion, several of the United Irishmen entered his house, and insisted that he should undergo the ceremony of Baptism according to the form of the Romish Church. As he refused it, they behaved very roughly, but left him, with the determination, as they said, of coming again in a few days; and, if he then refused, that they would certainly hang him. According to their promise, they came again, and endeavored, by arguments and threats, to prevail upon him to be baptized, but in vain. They then said, they certainly would hang him; but some trifling matter occurring among themselves, the execution of their design was deferred at that time also, and they left him. In a few days they returned again, and he was told that they had now resolved to hang him before they left the house, if he did not agree to be baptized; and they actually fastened a rope round his neck, and took him to an out-house, where there was a beam, and were in the act of tying him up to the beam, when an alarm was given that a party of soldiers was coming, which made them run away; so that his life was providentially saved.

A Friend, living in a retired part of the county of Waterford, had a large family of young children, and kept several servants. A little before the battle of Ross, two of the nursery-maids, Roman Catholics, left the house. This circumstance gave some alarm to the family, which was, however, mitigated in degree, by their return after the battle, in which the United Irishmen were defeated. The mistress interrogated the elder of the servants respecting their reasons for thus leaving the family, at a time and in a state of such distress; and represented their ingratitude, after having experienced so many marks of kindness from their master and mistress, during a period of some years' servitude. The girl acknowledged it all with many tears; but added, "Mistress, if you knew all, you would not condemn us." Some days afterwards, her mistress spoke to her again, and requested her to be more explicit, because she did not understand what was meant by the words "if you knew all," &c. And, upon urging the subject in a very kind manner,

the servant burst into tears, and acknowledged that she and her fellow-servant had been enjoined, by an authority to which they were accustomed to yield implicit obedience, "if the battle of Ross was favorable to the Irish, to kill the young children: and this," said she, "we could not do: you had been like tender and kind parents to us, and the children we loved as our own; and therefore we determined to leave the house, never to return any more, if the battle should be favorable to the Irish."

Some idea may be formed of the dangers with which the members of the Society were surrounded, when it is known, that, with few exceptions, their domestic servants, being Roman Catholics, were in secret league with the Insurgents, and daily anticipating the overthrow of civil and religious power, as well as an entire change of property in their own favor. Hence there was every sordid inducement, that could operate upon a dark and interested multitude, to destroy all who stood in their way. For they were led, perversely enough, to think, that the destruction of one differing in religious opinion, was the performance of a religious duty, or an act pleasing in the sight of God, and would coincide with their temporal interest. It is, however, to be noticed, that, in the South of Ireland, a great number of the Roman Catholics, in the better classes of society, were distinguished for their loyalty and good conduct; whilst, in the North, many who took an active part as leaders in the sedition, were, by profession, Protestants.* It was chiefly a political struggle in the North, and religious, more than political, in the South. Hence the probability is, that, had both classes been victorious against the lawful government, yet, with such distinct and incompatible views, they would soon have turned their arms against each other.

A servant-maid, residing with a Friend in Enniscorthy, who had been instrumental in bringing about the murder of the male part of a Protestant family, with whom she had formerly lived, having pointed out to some of the pikemen such windows in the Friend's house, as she supposed they could fire from with most effect upon the King's troops, he said to her, "I did not think thou wouldst serve me so."

* Indeed, some of the leaders in the South were Protestants, especially the Insurgent General, who commanded at the battle of Ross; and it is supposed that he was, in some degree, instrumental in restraining the cruelty of those under him.

Upon which she told her mistress, that their children would be fatherless before that time to-morrow. Her threats, however, proved to be vain.

"At length," says an eye-witness, who has recorded some of these events, "the time approached when divine interposition was remarkably conspicuous in this county. Nearly three weeks the rage of religious bigotry spread itself with fire and sword; and, from every information I could learn, and from concurring circumstances, it appeared, *the day was fixed* for a general massacre of every class who were not of the Romish Church. For, said they, often in my hearing, '*one religion only shall be allowed.*'"

"But, on the eve before that day, the King's army invested Vinegar Hill, and, early in the morning, a battle ensued, in which the United Irishmen were totally defeated and routed. The King's army pursued them to Wexford, got immediate possession of the town, and rescued many of the poor victim Protestants from present death, and all who were not yet made prisoners, from the horrible massacre which was rapidly going forward."

Some idea may be formed of the evils produced by contention, even to those whose party may have got the ascendancy, when it is known, that a considerable number of the Protestants, who had been taken to the camp of the Rebels at Vinegar Hill as prisoners, were put to death by the victorious army, through ignorance, or through want of discrimination, in the heat of pursuit; as every one in a colored coat was supposed to belong to the Insurgents.

CHAPTER V.

Testimonies of Friends from different Parts, including a Narrative of Events at Ballitore, and a few Particulars of the Battles of Ross and Antrim.

THE following interesting journal of the events that occurred in the village of Ballitore, was kept by a Friend

* "On that morning, a standard, or black flag, was carried through the streets of Wexford, with M. W. S. in large letters inscribed thereon; the meaning supposed to be, MURDER WITHOUT SIN. The massacre of the Protestant prisoners was

residing there, who, at that time, had the care of a large establishment for the education of youth, chiefly of the Society; and it will be seen that he endeavored to steer a course of humanity and benevolence, which qualified him to interpose his good offices, with effect, on several occasions, for the preservation of those, of both parties, who were in imminent danger from their enemies.

"1798.—24th of 5th mo., Fifth day, was the day of the general rise of the people in the county of Kildare. The occasion of their rise may be attributed to the following causes: For a long time back the people of the country have shown a disaffection to government, particularly the Presbyterians in the north, and the Romanists almost universally. Against these latter the rulers seem particularly exasperated, because, they said, that, having granted them every relaxation of the penal laws against Catholics, that could be conveniently allowed them, even to the endangering of the constitution, yet they were dissatisfied; and it began to be suspected, that, instead of a participation of rights with Protestants in this kingdom, they wanted to subvert the constitution, and have all to themselves. It was also thought, and found from facts, that they were actually in league with the French, the avowed enemies to the constitution established; and that they looked for an invasion from them, to rise and join them, for the purpose of effecting their treasonable designs. Government therefore determined on coercive measures, that, seeing they could not be won over, they might be forced or frightened into obedience. For this purpose, informers were employed amongst them, who, many of them, betrayed innocent men, for whom they entertained a pique or enmity; houses were searched for unlawful meetings, arms, and papers; those informed against were severely whipped, and extorted confessions obtained: hence, a source of distress, perfidy, and disaffection was opened; the minds of men exasperated against each other in the bitterest manner: hence, jealousies, and cruel retaliations of injuries, private assassinations, burning of houses, by each party; the wine of resentment and revenge intoxicating even men of the soundest heads and fairest intentions. The

executing at WEXFORD, and did not discontinue until they (the pikemen) fled from the King's army. It was said they were wading in their blood up to their ankles on the bridge of Wexford."

soldiery, being harassed with incessant pursuit of those wretches, thus excited by their cruelties to repeated acts of outrage, were hardly restrained by their officers (when opportunity offered) from destroying the people with indiscriminate slaughter.

"In order to effect their purposes of coercion, the government had fallen on a gradation of punishment:—First, putting soldiers on private houses,—Secondly, allowing them free quarters there, so that many poor people left their beds to the soldiers and lay upon straw,—Thirdly, burning their houses, on intimation of disaffection, or proof of concealed arms,—Fourthly, whipping, which was conducted with such severity, that many said they would prefer to be shot at once, than to be thus tormented to death; and many were actually taken out of their houses and put to immediate death.

"Things were in this state at the time of the date above mentioned; the government requiring the people to bring in concealed arms, to entitle them to protection, with which multitudes complied, but still many were concealed; when the alarm came to Colin Campbell, commanding in the county of Kildare, and stationed at Athy, that on this day there would be a general rise.

"In the night of the 23d, an express arrived to Captain C——, of the Suffolk Fencibles, quartered at Ballitore, to be ready, in a moment's warning, to be under march with his men, and the militia also under his command. Thus our very agreeable E—— C—— left us, to be exposed to popular resentment, to which he was by no means entitled, being possessed of the most gentle, conciliatory dispositions, which led him often to deplore the situation he was placed in, and that the plundering of the disaffected (which they called *foraging* from them) should be acted under his directions.*

"Large bodies of men now collected in different places, armed with pikes and pitchforks, with a few swords, muskets, and bayonets, some of which had been forced or stolen from the soldiery. The Insurgents waylaid the troops, and in some places killed a few of them; but became themselves at

* "Foraging parties were dispersed through the country; and a hundred cars, laden with provisions, (taken from the people,) came one day into Ballitore. It was the scarce time of the year and this proceeding caused great distress."

last the victims of slaughter; which was the case when C—— arrived at Kilcullen.

"It were in vain, as it is unimportant, to describe the flying engagements which took place in several places on this day. At Narramore Wood, Lieut. Edie, of the Tyrone militia, had smart work, and was well nigh cut off by liers in wait: multitudes were slain there by the Insurgents. The loyalists, who were in possession of the Court-house at Narramore, took the captain of the Insurgents prisoner; upon which the people set fire to all the houses there; and the property of John Jeffers, a staunch man to the constitution, was thereby destroyed: then they recovered the captain, and took some prisoners. When they were dislodged from Narramore Wood, the Insurgents took the bog-road, and had an engagement with the military on march on the high road, when several men were slain of the country people.

"In the evening, the captain of the Insurgents collected his forces of pikemen, &c., in the plain between Narramore and Ballitore, to the number of two or three hundred, and marched them down to take possession of Ballitore, which was this morning evacuated by the soldiers. A. Shackleton, with his boys, from the top of Nine-tree Hill, was witness to the awful procession, not knowing to what lengths the popular transport might carry an exasperated people. So, letting them pass by, he led his little corps of infantry (*the dear, alarmed boys*) round by the back of the garden, into the house; and, about five o'clock, the pikemen, with various descriptions of armor, entered his parlor, and found him sitting with his family and the dear boys, in awful quiet. They behaved with respect, but asked peremptorily for provisions, which we handed out to them, and they retired. Our poor neighbors, fearing pillage of property, now began to flock to our house; so, as my school was small, we had room to accommodate about one hundred persons, men, women, and children, who, day and night, collected up and down in our houses. The school-house, a large room, was given up to them; so that, what with the people seeking an asylum, and the men under arms, we had very little quiet, or scarcely any thing we could call our own.

"Such were the important events of the 24th; important to us and our little community. Our minds were centred in divine dependence. The canopy of preserving power was evident to my feeling in this awful crisis.

"25th, Sixth day, morning.—Alarms often came of a military force. Our horses were taken, to send expresss to explore the movements of the army; our poor people being generally too feeble to resist the shock of military discipline, though a few individuals of them were undaunted and fierce, from the memory of past injuries, or the expectation of future ones. Some of these latter entered my house, about six o'clock, A. M., with pistols, to bring me out (as they said) to fight with them; asked me where was my pike; they saw no reason, they said, that I should indulge in quiet, while they exposed themselves for the defence of my property, &c. &c.

"So they took me out, and two honest men with me, I. and T. B——, then my guests, and said that we should stand in front of the battle: if we would not fight, we should stop a bullet. They took us beyond the bridge, to the side of the road; our people following us with their eyes and tender affection; several neighbors and faithful Mary Doyle (an old nurse) coming after, interceding for our return. They said that I could not be spared from home, and from the care of so many of the poor, who had taken sanctuary in my house; that, as to my fellow-prisoners, they ought to fight at home; it was unreasonable to expect them to fight *our* battles. I told the men, that, as to myself, I felt quite undisturbed, and I had no displeasure against them, who did it ignorantly; that they might put me to death, as I was in their hands, but they would never persuade me to use any act of violence against my fellow-men. At length they were persuaded to liberate us.

"Now, they entertained the idea of whipping a man they called an *informer*, whom they had taken prisoner, and made preparations for it, on the principle of retaliation. After some persuasion, they were induced to relinquish this idea, *and declared that, though they had received very grievous treatment, they ought not to return evil for evil.* As I applauded this sentiment, I now began to have some place in their minds. It was satisfactory to find, that they entertained no worse intent than obtaining redress to the grievances they complained of, such as the whipping and plundering committed on them by the military. As violence was likely to be inflicted on the soldiers' wives left in the town, I got leave to take them under my care; also George, a servant of Captain C——, a sick soldier, and another, who was servant to Lieut. Gore. The two young women, also Anne Gore and Anne Hemet, the latter a Jersey woman, wives to

Gore and Hemet, lieutenants in the Suffolk Militia, shared the hospitality and protection of our house. Thus were we variously checkered: *people of all sides and all descriptions coming to us*. So that, if provisions should hold out, our garrison was pretty well manned. Various alarms came to-day;—it was suggested that cannon were coming to destroy the house over our heads; the women fled out of the windows into the garden, and all was confusion and distraction while the panic held.

“My family mostly staid by me in the parlor; and supporting quiet was witnessed, sufficient to allay the noise of the waves and the tumults of the people.

“The wretched people were now grown tired of their attempt; their leader, Capt. ———, had deserted them.

“26th, Seventh day.—As I found a disposition in the people to listen to terms, I took pains, with my friends of peacemaking spirit, to prevail on the people to send to the commanding officer to sue for pardon. I drew up the following lines, which I proposed to the ———, and the people, and they heartily acceded in general. I told them it was no act of mine; I only proposed it to them; I wished them to return to peace, but, whatever they did, they must take on themselves all the consequences. The lines were as follows:—

“The people of East Narra and Rheban, depending on Colonel Campbell's lenity, offer unconditional submission. They acknowledge they have been misled, and have perpetrated several acts of outrage, resentment, and retaliation, which they are sorry for. They hope the severe measures used towards them will plead an excuse, as they prefer to die at once, than to be tormented to death. They hope the Colonel will now consider their case as entitled, for their voluntary obedience, to Royal mercy and clemency. They wish to return to their duty, and to their lawful occupations, on the same footing they formerly were.

“These lines were also shown to the person commanding in the town: he seemed not to approve of them, but said to me, ‘Don't interfere.’ However, they seemed to convey the voice of the people, and, as such, were sent by an express. Afterwards, the people seemed dissatisfied, unless some conditions were made for a liberation of prisoners, and J. B——— offered himself to go to Athy with further explanation; but this was not allowed at the time proposed.

“The people said they would wait for the answer to the

express. Insolence, even in (the possession of) a very precarious power, operates on the leaders in popular assemblies; and the poor people are still miserable victims of their misguided measures. The express returned with the following answer:—

“Colonel Campbell conveyed to Mr. J——, of Ballitore, his decision on this application of the deluded people of that place; and if they will lay down their arms, of every kind, in front of the moat of Ardskill, this afternoon, at six o’clock, and retire half a mile in the rear of it, Colonel Campbell will send out a party (as he proposed yesterday) to receive the arms, to prevent their falling into the hands of the disaffected. It gives the Colonel much pleasure to find, that the people have at last found out their error, and that they have been imposed on by designing men; and he will not fail to recommend their case to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, and he will, in the mean time, afford them every protection in his power. Their compliance with this proposal will save much blood, as they must now be convinced, from their late attacks on the outposts, how impossible it is to make any impression on a well-disciplined army.

“COLIN CAMPBELL,

“Colonel, commanding at Athy.

“Athy, 26th May, 1798.

“The yesterday’s proposal, mentioned in the letter, was never generally communicated to the people; or it appears that, besides their own caprice, they labored under the curse of a deceitful mediator.

“About six o’clock that evening, instead of the arms, (as proposed,) the people concluded on sending an ambassador of peace; and J. B. consented to go on their behalf. About eleven o’clock, J. B. returned with the following lines from Colonel Campbell:—

“Colonel Campbell is disposed to treat with the deluded people of the county of Kildare, and there shall be a truce till twelve o’clock to-morrow, provided six of the most respectable of their people are sent here, on the return of Friend J. B. to Ballitore, who shall be kept as hostages for the performance of the proposals within stated:—A return of the number in arms of the two Baronies who implore forgiveness to be sent to Colonel Campbell to-morrow at eight in the morning; and this engagement will

not be looked on as binding, if they afterwards admit any of their disaffected neighbors into the Baronies of East Narra and Rheban.

“COLIN CAMPBELL, Colonel.

“C. C.’s patrols with letters not to be intercepted.

“This, coming so late, could not well be communicated to the people, who were scattered every where. I took it to the priest, who lodged in the town, and who appeared all the day of wavering counsels;—sometimes, *before us*, persuading the people to surrender, and, at other times, *apart*, haranguing them to opposite measures: here was another mischief that attended the deluded people. Some of the principal men I had got that day closeted; they spoke reasonably, and were inclinable for treaty, more or less, according to their respective clearness of understanding.

“Whelan, a turbulent man, with a blunderbuss, greatly annoyed our domestic councils. As I spoke to the people from an upper window, to enforce the mild offers of government, I feared once that he would discharge his mischievous engine at me. But Providence preserved. Thus I am again tracing back the operations of the 26th, in order to account for the fatality, which, like a fiery comet, drew a train of disastrous circumstances. These wavering counsels of some, and the hot spirits of others of our demagogues, occasioned that this last requisition came *too late* for the people to send in their hostages; for, though it was possible to collect *them*, yet, who could tell whether the people would, after all, comply with the terms? And thus the hostages were at stake for the deception, and the people would ultimately perish. So it was concluded to send in the hostages in the morning.

“The morning arrived, full of portentous calamity to this neighborhood. About three o’clock the priest called me up, and told me the army was certainly at hand. On the first intimation of it, the people fled and dispersed on every hand; so that, if the hostages were then in time, it would be hard to collect them, and still harder to concentrate the wavering resolutions of the people. The poor priest appeared in great dismay. He requested to borrow my coat, but, when I went for it, he was gone. He fled towards Narramore; the lion was there; the thundering cannon had already been planted that morning early against Narramore house, the new unfinished mansion of Maurice Keatinge, which they (with the assistance of fire) demolished; Carrol and some others, who

had taken shelter there, being either shot or dispersed. The priest now fled to Ephraim Boakes,* and hid in the garden; but, thinking that place unsafe, he lay down in one of the clumps before Ephraim's door, and there waited till the bitterness of death was past. But to return to Ballitore: as the army from Carlow, consisting of horse and foot, moved slowly down the hill, I proposed to J—— B——, that he and I should go forth to meet them; which we did, also the Phelps's and Samuel Eves, then with us. The commanding officer, Major Dennis, rode on to meet us with a pistol in his hand, and, stopping near us, asked who commanded in the town. He was answered by J—— B——, that 'the town had been for these few days in the hands of the Insurgents; but as to us,' said he, 'we are only passengers.'—'It happened well for you, gentlemen,' said he, 'that it is so, or I should have shot you every man.' (It appears that he had previously given orders to shoot every man in 'colored clothes.')

"I was no passenger, yet I did not then find it prudent to set him right. He then desired that some beer or other refreshment should be had for the soldiers. We showed him the letter we had from Colin Campbell, and got up Col. Wolseley, *then a lodger in my house*, to speak to him; thus his wrath was averted. He desired the army to halt; the officers rode up for drink, and they moved away.

"This woe past, the bitter cup of vengeance was handed from another quarter. Col. Campbell, not finding the hostages sent as he desired, marched his army in the night to patrol the country, and came down from Narramore on us, about five or six o'clock, bringing fire and desolation wherever they came. The houses were generally burned, and many of the people shot, I suppose, almost all who appeared, whether guilty or not of the crime of *disaffection*. The officers came into our house and recognized their old friends, while the soldiery were spreading terror among the people. Poor Hannah Haughton they plundered; her innocence pleading in vain for her. The soldiers had got information concerning the commander of the town; he (simple man!) met them in the street, and was instantly put to death. The

* E. B. was an aged neighbor, long since deceased, who had united his endeavors with those of A. S. and his friends, first to moderate, and then to protect, the misguided people.—The army, which was approaching at this time, was from Carlow, lying in a direction opposite to Athy, where Colonel Campbell commanded.

houses in the burrow were now consumed ; the inhabitants hid and escaped. My neighbor, who had taken me prisoner two days before, now came on his knees to me : he had just escaped death ; pleading merit for having saved the life of a soldier ; by and by he and his wife came flying, and seemed closely pursued ; as it was said, the wife had wounded a soldier, who attempted to take a ring from her and abuse her. I told her, she must hide somewhere else out of the house, or it might be burned in their fury.

“In a few minutes this dreadful scene opened and closed ; and they passed on. It resembled the operation of lightning, — fierce and terrible, and over in a moment !

“Colonel Campbell then led his army, clad in terrible array, round by Crookstown, spreading death and destruction wherever they came ; and so passed on to Athy ; the ministration of vengeance being let fall on devoted Ballitore and its neighborhood, notwithstanding that the most of the people who were guilty of these outrages, and of opposition to government, came from a distance. Thus, having suffered the woe of rebellion first, we fell under the greater woe of vindictive punishment. Here was an afflicting sight for the poor people to behold, — all their little stock reduced to ashes ! — the little provisions for their future wants ; for some of them had not removed their goods ; others, more wisely, had foreseen the threatened calamity. Yet the survivors (so sweet is life !) consoled themselves that they were alive, and now only sought about to find what they could do to avert a repetition of the visit which might deprive them of life.

“Ephraim Boakes and I undertook to treat for them, and we went to Athy. When we arrived there, we were congratulated that we were alive ; they had been told that when the army withdrew, the rebels had returned and burned every house which the army had spared : — this we were able to contradict. Anne Gore and Anne Hemet were particularly overjoyed to see me, and met me with hugs and embraces ; the polite Col. Wolseley and his lady made grateful acknowledgments for our care of them. My beloved friend, Dorcas Fitzgerald, I was glad to see, and she me ; also dear T. and D. Chandley, and many more : — Affliction unites in one. Col. Campbell received well our proffered treaty. It was concluded, that he should come with a detachment of troops, to the high ground on the road at Ards skull, on the 4th day following, at twelve o'clock ; that all persons, desirous of laying down their arms, should deposit them on the gravel

hill in Ballindrum bog, and retire to the road on Ballindrum hill; that when the officer had taken up the arms, the people should come forward in a body and sign an engagement for future good conduct; Col. Campbell should then immediately recommend them to government; and the utmost possible lenity should be used towards them: two hostages should be sent to Athy that day to confirm the good resolutions of the people. These terms, after some conversation with the Colonel, in which he spoke kindly and mildly, we carried home; and met the people at an hour appointed for reading them. The people rejoiced at the very sound of peace, and promised, that if any hereafter should conceal arms, or attempt to destroy their loyalty, they would lend every aid to take up such persons and bring them to justice. They were then sent home to convince all their neighbors; for which the day following was allowed; and they were desired to come on 4th day morning, with their weapons of every kind, that Ephraim and I might conduct them to the place appointed. With this, they cheerfully complied. We met the Colonel and his troops; the whole business was conducted with good order; the people gratefully received the gracious smiles and approbation of the Colonel; protections were given separately to every respective townland; and the people came away as after a triumphant victory. The insidious artifices of one man (Mich. Walter) had like to have disconcerted the whole plan: he came riding post haste, as express, to tell the people, that, if they staid there, they were all to be killed; and for this, he said, he had orders from General Dundas; but his villanous artifice was defeated by the activity of Ephraim Boakes; the man was taken and given up to the Colonel, who ordered him to be conducted to Athy.

"At the time the arms were given in, A. S. handed the following address to Col. Campbell:—

"Abraham Shackleton begs leave to address Colonel Campbell on a subject that is of vast importance, as he conceives, to the general weal—the preservation of the people. He has seen, with great anxiety, old distinctions of religious names revived. He believes that there does not exist that dark spirit of persecution among the people which is attributed to them, but a spirit of retaliation, in many, for real or imagined injuries. It is said, that they had formed a conspiracy for a general massacre: no such disposition was apparent the two days that we of this town were entirely in their power. Why did they not proceed then to a massacre? Why did they not revenge the injuries they said they had

received? They spared to whip one man, who, they said, was an informer; they forbore to whip the soldiers' wives, when that cruel retaliation was suggested by the women of the town; they offered no injuries to the officers' wives in my house, nor to the sick soldier and two officers' servants with me. A. S. believes that no such conspiracy exists, and that it is conceived only in the fears of men of property, who are alarmed at the thoughts of losing it. He believes that, by mild treatment, the people may be made useful to us, and happy in themselves. They have found the folly of resistance. They are used to live low — *facilem victu per secula gentem*. Let them live, and live comfortably; — they will not aspire higher; they will be hands and feet to us. Indeed, all orders and classes of society want reformation. — If the money laid out in spacious buildings, cultivating fine gardens and pleasure-grounds, were some of it expended in cultivating the morals of the people, what a happy harvest of blessings would it not produce to the cultivators! If the rich did not insult the poor by their wanton extravagance and riot, the two orders of society would coalesce, and religious distinctions would not be so much as thought of."

From the foregoing narrative it appears that the pacific labors of this worthy Friend and his associates were blessed in many instances. An inmate and relative of his family thus expresses herself: — "Neighbors, rich and poor, and persons of all parties, a hundred in all, sheltered peacefully together under my brother's roof. Some of these were prisoners captured on their journey: one of their carriages being drawn down and their luggage carried — all safely deposited, persons and property, with my brother."

"Col. Wolseley and his lady, the wives of two lieutenants, also the wives of two privates, and a sick soldier, were in this way protected under his roof, whilst their enemies had possession of the town. And when the place was given up to the fury of the soldiers, to be pillaged and burnt, an officer, who had been at Ballitore School, had placed sentinels to protect the houses of Friends: the house of one poor female they forgot, till it was too late to save her little property from destruction.

"When I first saw our house filling with the Insurgents, soon after they came in, I told them I was frightened at the sight of so many armed men; and, without showing displeasure, they answered, 'We will be off *in a shot*,' (meaning *directly*), and presently withdrew, after they had got milk; and

one of them cut the bread I brought out, distributing it among them with the advice, 'Be decent, boys, be decent.' I met with this man afterwards, as he stood a sentinel, and threatened to shoot a man of his own party, who walked beside me, if he passed the bounds. I asked him, If I went on, would he shoot me? He expressed affectionate surprise at my asking such a question, and pronounced a eulogium on Quakers. I told him it would be well if they were all of our way of thinking; for then there would be no such work as the present. His reply, incoherent as it was, I could understand, 'Ay, but you know — our Savior — the scourges — Oh! the scourges!'

"The Insurgents sometimes attempted to soothe our female fears, shaking us by the hand, and declaring they would burn those that would burn us. My mother, in her state of second childhood, was respectfully treated by them; also, when the army came, a soldier begged leave of his officers to visit 'the old mistress:' — he had been quartered on her. The Insurgents took our bridles and saddles, but nothing else besides food. A man, with a naked sword, demanded from me my own riding mare; I told him, I had lent her to one of the officers; and another vouching for my veracity, he was satisfied and went away. Others applied for any thing of a green color. I told them we could not join any party. — 'What, not the strongest?' — 'No. none at all.' And, though our tables were covered with green cloths, they forbore to urge the request."

In addition to this testimony, the author is credibly informed, "that A. S. and his colleagues in the work of peace, continued to interpose their good offices afterwards, when judicial proceedings were gleaning the refuse of the sword; and had the satisfaction of contributing to save many of their neighbors from death. A man who was tried by a court martial, ascribed his acquittal to a note in his favor from the sister of A. S. The officer who took it, glanced at the signature, and exclaimed that women cared not what they said; and then, observing the date, remarked, *that it was from a Quaker, and that Quakers never lie.*"

A FRIEND of great respectability in the county of Westmeath, living in a wild, thinly-inhabited district, not far from the town of Moate, has given the following striking testimony from his own observations at that period. — "All those in this quarter *who professed principles* of peace, were marvellously

spared from extreme suffering ; some living in solitary places surrounded by that class who were very generally in a state of rebellion. Some, so circumstanced, could not leave their usual habitations, though strongly urged by their few Protestant neighbors to flee with them to garrison towns. O! the heart-rending scenes some such have witnessed ; their neighbors, running hither and thither with their families and goods, and calling upon me to flee from certain destruction ! Yet some were favored with faith and patience to abide in their lots, conscientiously adhering to the revealed law of their God ; and thus did experience, to their humbling admiration, the name of the Lord to be a strong tower, in which they found safety. I could, with wonder, love, and praise, relate some marvellous deliverances mercifully vouchsafed to me when surrounded by numerous, and, at other times, by smaller bodies of armed men in open rebellion, and when no human being of any other description was near ; yet through divine aid, and that alone, was I enabled to refuse to take up arms or take their oaths, or join them, assigning as a reason, that I could not fight nor swear *for* or *against* them. They threatened — they pondered — they debated, — marvelled, and ultimately liberated me, though they said I was in the power of many thousands then assembled.

“ When travelling alone, I have sometimes seen such people armed with pikes ; we have looked seriously at each other, and passed without speaking.”

BATTLE OF ROSS.

According to the testimony of a respectable inhabitant of Ross, Friends of this town were placed in a different situation from some others of their religious profession in other parts of the county of Wexford ; inasmuch as the town was occupied by a large military force, and not at any period in the possession of the Insurgents, except partially and at intervals during the day of the memorable battle which continued with but little cessation for nearly the space of twelve hours. For a considerable part of this time, it was matter of awful uncertainty which party would ultimately prevail. But, at the very juncture when the town was mostly abandoned by the king's troops, who, from the violence and great length of the conflict, together with the intense heat of the weather and other causes, had become so fatigued and exhausted, as

generally to give it up, and to retire to the bridge, in order to secure their retreat into Munster, the assailing multitude, composed of many thousands, were observed to betake themselves to flight, without any apparent cause, either then or since discovered. On being assured of this remarkable circumstance, the king's troops were prevailed upon to return; and they took possession of their former posts, under some degree of astonishment at finding themselves left undisputed masters of the town. General Johnson, who commanded, is reported to have said, that the success of that day was to be referred to Providence, and *was not the work of man*.

During this bloody conflict, in which it is stated from good authority that upwards of 2000 persons were killed, the town was set on fire in different quarters, and the flames spread with such uncontrolled fury, as to threaten a frightful devastation. Yet amidst so many imminent and combined dangers, Friends were generally preserved in a quiet and resigned state of dependence upon that Almighty Power which could alone afford protection in such an awful crisis. Protection was, indeed, wonderfully experienced, as was foretold by several ministers of the Society, during their religious labors in the country, some years before this calamity took place. One Friend, in particular, was heard to declare in gospel authority, "that in a time of trial, which was approaching, if Friends kept their places, many would be glad to take shelter under the skirts of their garments." This prediction was now literally fulfilled; for many respectable neighbors, on the evening of the battle, apprehending themselves not so secure in their own houses as in those of Friends, flocked, with their families, to the latter, thinking the Insurgents would probably return and make another attack on the town in the night. Some of them, belonging to an armed association, and clad in a military garb, readily acquiesced with the proprietors' remonstrances, and assumed a dress of more peaceable appearance. And there was reason to believe, that after experiencing such an unexpected deliverance, their minds were made sensible that the power or strength of man was at such a time of little avail, and that Providence alone was able to protect and to rescue from such imminent danger.

Many facts might be stated, to show the impressions which the people, or at least those who were apprehensive for their personal safety, generally entertained, that the peaceable dress of the Society would afford protection in these perilous times: the following instance may be mentioned.

In the house of a Friend, near Enniscorthy, there lodged a

Protestant Clergyman, a man of sober, moral character, with his wife. When he saw the danger approaching, he requested that the clothes of a Friend might be given him, expecting that in such a dress he might be preserved, or at least might be able to effect his escape. But it was remarked to him that such a disguise could be of no advantage; and he hid himself in the garden, by the river side, where he was found and murdered.

BATTLE OF ANTRIM.

The town of Antrim was the only considerable place in the North, during the year of the Rebellion, in which any members of the Society were placed in serious difficulties immediately between the contending parties. One family, however, consisting of a very young man, and his sisters, whose father was then engaged in a religious visit in America, was preserved in a remarkable manner during the conflict which took place in this town.

On the day of the battle, when it was announced that the Rebels were approaching, few of the regular army being then in the place, expresses were sent off in different quarters for assistance. A regiment of cavalry arrived before the commencement of the engagement, but was not able to make any effectual stand against the force opposed to it. Orders were issued to the inhabitants to close their doors and windows, and to remain in their houses. About one o'clock in the day, the Rebels marched into the town, and their appearance caused a general dismay, so that horror seemed to be pictured in every countenance.

It was the design of this family to remain in their house, until they discovered that the action had commenced, and that the Insurgents' cannon was placed in the street directly opposite to their door. As the house seemed to be in imminent danger, they thought of taking refuge in the fields. This step would, however, have been attended with great personal risk, and was happily prevented; for the yard was so full of Rebels that the family could not well pass by them; and after making an effort to escape, the females returned into the house; but their brother was shut out amongst the crowd. And, notwithstanding they were in the heat of action at the time, they neither asked him to take up arms and join them, nor did they offer him the least degree of violence.

He afterwards got into the stable, and endeavored to secure himself by holding down the latch with his hand till one of his sisters ventured out and brought him into the house, — to their great joy, as they never expected to see him again alive.

Immediately after they had given up the intention of going into the fields, and were entering the house, a wounded Rebel came in along with them, and staid with them the remaining time of the engagement. Though they endeavored to perform the duties of humanity to a suffering fellow-creature, they felt their situation to be full of difficulty as well as of danger on his account, not knowing how soon his enemies might prevail, and find him under their protection. The Rebel, who was a respectable person, strove to encourage them by saying, they need not be at all alarmed, for that, he was sure, as they were an inoffensive people, and did not meddle on either side, they would not meet with any injury.

At this time, the Rebels had gained possession of the town, having obliged the regiment of cavalry to retreat, after a very deadly encounter, in which about one third of the regiment, in the short space of a few minutes, was either killed or severely wounded; but it was not long before a reinforcement of the Monaghan and Tipperary Militia entered the town; and, seeing the Rebels beginning to yield, they acted with great cruelty, neither distinguishing friends nor enemies, but destroying every one who appeared in colored clothes. In a very short time they dispersed the Insurgents, and retook the town.

Numbers, who were not in any way concerned, lost their lives, for the soldiers showed pity to none; they fired into the houses of the inhabitants, and killed many; those who took refuge in the fields suffered severely.

When the firing had almost ceased, the family above noticed concluded it would be much safer for the Rebel who had taken shelter with them to try to make his escape; for the probability was, that if he should be found in the house, at such a time, he would not only suffer *himself*, but be the occasion of the family suffering also. He made his escape accordingly, and was saved.

Not many minutes after, a number of soldiers came to the door, knocked furiously at it, and demanded entrance immediately, insisting that the family should all come forward and show themselves, in order that it might be known whether there were any strangers in the house. The door was opened accordingly, and they were immediately surrounded

by a great number of soldiers. Their appearance was very frightful; they were just come from the heat of the battle; their faces besmeared with gunpowder, and the expression of their countenances corresponding with the work of death in which their hands had just been engaged. One of them said he wanted to see if he appeared "*Devil-enough like*:" he looked at his face in the glass, and observed—"he thought he did appear quite enough so." They inquired if all the individuals of the family were present, and if any strangers were in the house. Some of them were going up stairs to search; but an officer, who lived near, told them, they should not make any search: "that the Quakers were people that would not tell a lie—that their words might be taken—and, therefore, if any strangers were in the house, that they would not be denied." Indeed, their manner was so kind and civil as to excite the astonishment of the family; especially as many others had experienced very different treatment.

They now brought into the house a poor wounded soldier, and gave him into the care of the family. Part of his bowels had forced their way out through a wound made by a musket ball. Every possible attention was paid to him, and he was very thankful for it, but died the next morning, after suffering great pain.

The town presented an awful appearance after the battle; the bodies of men and horses were lying in the blood-stained streets; and the people were to be seen here and there saluting their neighbors—like those who survived a pestilence or an earthquake—as if they were glad to see each other alive, after the recent calamity.

The same night, nearly a troop of soldiers came to the door to let the family know "they need not be at all alarmed; for that they should be protected—that the soldiers would be riding through the streets all night, and would take care they should not be molested."

After this, the inhabitants were kept in a state of constant alarm for many days, not knowing when another attack might be made upon the town; fresh orders were repeatedly given to close up their doors and windows, and to prepare for another engagement. In the mean while, the army were *racking* many houses, and taking away the property. They carried off the shop-goods of a Friend living in a *suspected* quarter of the town, but did not hurt any of his family. The young man, who, with his sisters, was so critically circumstanced, as is above related, interceded for his friend with the commanding officer; but the latter would not prevent the soldiers

from plundering, saying, "He is a Quaker, and will not fight; therefore the men must be allowed to take his goods."

A brother of the same Friend living in a part of the town which was not considered so rebellious, received no harm, and suffered no loss of property.

Owing to the bad character which that part of the town where the young man and his sisters lived had obtained, orders were issued that it should be burned. Some of the houses had already been destroyed on the morning of the battle; but it was now a fearful thing to have the houses of a whole street condemned to pillage and the flames, as many innocent persons would undoubtedly suffer, and numbers would be left without a place of shelter. For, in this calamitous period, the poor destitute wanderer, whether innocent or guilty, who was deprived of a home, either by accident or design, was always an object of suspicion, and, if not in military attire, was liable to be shot.

The commanding officer was riding up the street to give the orders; and one of the young women of the family thought she would venture through the crowd and speak to him; some of the town's people had indeed kindly urged her to make the application. She walked up to him accordingly, and with great simplicity asked him "if their house was to be burned:" he replied, "I have received very bad treatment from the inhabitants of this quarter of the town; but you shall not be disturbed. I will make them *rack* the houses about your house, and save yours." After this, without their knowledge, a yeoman was sent to stand at their door, while the destruction was going forward near them.

Notwithstanding the officer's commands, the army seemed disposed, many times afterwards, to plunder their house; but the neighbors always interfered, saying, "they were inoffensive people, not connected with any party, and that their father was in America."

On one occasion, the soldiers came for the express purpose of *racking* the house, and had their weapons ready to break the windows. But the neighbors, some of whom were yeomen, stepped forward in their behalf, so that not even a shilling's worth was taken from them, nor did any of the family receive the slightest personal injury.

The following remarkable circumstance deserves to be recorded in relation to this family. It is given upon unquestionable authority:—

At the time their father, then in a weak state of health, was preparing to leave Ireland, for the purpose of paying a

religious visit to America, a minister of the Society expressed himself in prayer, at a Quarterly Meeting, to this effect: he said, "he was led to appear in supplication on behalf of a dear brother who was going to a distant country, he might say, as with his life in his hands; that the Lord, he trusted, would be with him, and would lay out his work day after day; that he would be enabled to perform acceptably what was designed for him to do, and would return to his family and friends, with the reward of peace in his own bosom; experiencing Him who was his morning light to be his evening song. But that in his absence the sword would be near his house, and the dead bodies would be lying in the streets; and, at the time, neither hurt nor harm would befall his family; for the Lord would encamp about them, and preserve them, as in the hollow of his hand, from the rage and fury of the enemy."—These things were literally accomplished.

In connection with the battle of Antrim, it is peculiarly gratifying to be enabled to communicate a few particulars relating to what occurred at the Moravian settlement near it. The incident proves that the same principles of conduct will lead to the same practical effects, whether maintained by one society of Christians or by another; and the author is indebted for it to an intelligent female, who resided for some time at Gracehill, amongst the Moravians themselves.

"You request me to inform you of what I know respecting the Moravians, and their great objection to war, or any party work whatever. This I can clearly do from a long residence among them, during which time I never knew one of the members of their Society summoned to sessions or any other court of law; which, from their being so numerous, is rather a wonderful thing in unfortunate Ireland. Their aim and wish is to live peaceably and industriously under the existing government, not meddling with politics or affairs of state; they having a much higher object in view—the training of souls for the inheritance of glory.

"You may remember an anecdote I used to tell you of good old Mr. Fredlezius (the minister) during the Rebellion of 1798, and a few days before the battle of Antrim; when a party of ragged United Irishmen came to Gracehill, and told him, that unless the brethren *joined them*, they would burn the settlement and murder the whole community, and said, that in a few weeks, *all* Ireland would be theirs, as the French

had landed to restore them to their rights, and that unless they became of their party and took up arms, they would not allow them an inch of ground in the island. But poor dear old Fredlezius, who had not time to half dress himself, came out among them in his *red night-cap*; and trusting that God would soon deliver them out of the hands of such a mob, coolly said, "Well, well, my friends, be peaceable, and *when you be de cock we be de chickens*; come into the inn and refresh yourselves." And, indeed, they did so, drinking all they could. They then went to the shop, carried off all the green stuff and ribands they could get, and said they would come again soon for the final answer as to what party they would join; and, if not theirs, they would reduce the place to ashes, and murder the whole set. They did assuredly come, not many days after; they arrived in multitudes, and drew up in front of the sisters' house, while the poor sisters had all assembled in their prayer-hall to implore God to protect them; and momentarily expecting those ruffians to break in on them. At this conjuncture some dragoons galloped past with accounts to Ballymena, that the rebels were beaten at Antrim, and would soon be annihilated. This so terrified the ragged rabble that they took flight in all directions, leaving the good Moravians to bless and magnify that God who had so providentially preserved them."

[The Rev. C. Ignatius La Trobe, Secretary of the Moravian Missions, having been applied to on behalf of the Peace Society, for such further information respecting the preservation of the Moravian settlements from military outrage with which he might be acquainted, has obligingly made the following communication:—]

19, *Bartlett's Buildings*, April 8, 1828.

"DEAR SIR,—You have desired me to add some particulars to the account given at p. 137* of your little work, by an "intelligent female," who had resided some time among the Moravians at Gracehill (their settlement in the north of Ireland), respecting the manner in which they were preserved from harm in the Rebellion of 1798. Your correspondent justly describes them as giving the glory of their deliverance to the mercy and power of God alone; and their and our hearts are filled with gratitude whenever we call to mind the many proofs of His goodness, experienced during that dreadful period.

"I would the more willingly comply with your request, were I able to refer to the Journals and Reports then sent to all our

* Of the second edition of this work.

congregations in manuscript, but never printed. They are, however, not now within my reach. You will, therefore, kindly accept of the imperfect accounts my memory may enable me to furnish

"The jury in Carrickfergus, having been required by the Government to give their opinion as to the disposition of the inhabitants of that region, had stated, that the Moravian Brethren at Gracehill might be considered as truly loyal subjects; which was indeed the case, as they wished in this, as in all things, conscientiously to obey the injunctions given in the word of God.

"This declaration, of course, gave great umbrage to many leaders of the rebellion; and it is said, that the destruction of Gracehill was determined upon in their councils. I must observe that I am unable to quote dates, and you will excuse my mentioning events as they occur to my mind. I have heard that when Mr. Fredlezius, the warden, who was a man of a remarkably calm and unoffending character, heard of the approach of the first party of rebels, he went out to meet them, and addressing their captain, a man of ferocious appearance, said—'Do you come as friends, or as enemies?' After some demur, the captain answered—'As friends, to be sure; what would you have us to be?' Mr. Fredlezius then held out his hand, which the captain took, assuring him that they meant to do no mischief if they were only supplied with victuals, arms, and ammunition. They were told, that they had been obliged to deliver up all their fire-arms and gunpowder by the king's troops. The party then entered the shop, took all the green riband they could find, and, being supplied with food and drink, marched off.

"Another party of several hundreds, worse in disposition than the former, paid them a second visit, as described by your correspondent; from which they were delivered, as related by her.

"The destruction of Toome Bridge, over the river Bann, connecting the counties Derry and Antrim, by the rebels themselves, prevented hundreds of those in Derry from joining their comrades in Antrim, which the Brethren in Gracehill considered a providential circumstance. As success declared itself in favor of either party alternately, the friends of both were at a loss whither to fly for safety. To the surprise of the Brethren, Gracehill became the general asylum. The leaders of both parties had charged the inhabitants not to suffer any fugitives to enter their dwellings. When they, therefore, arrived with their goods, on cars or in wagons, they had no place of shelter, but either in sheds, or under cover of their vehicles, which filled the square. Rebels and king's men lay close to each other in the same distress, and were both treated with humanity by the inhabitants. It happened that some, flying along the streets, threw their purses and money into the houses, and made sure of their being restored by the unknown inmates. Such was the confidence of all, in those honest Christian people.

"Respecting our settlements on the Continent, I am at a still greater loss as to dates; but the instances of God's preservation of our defenceless places and their inhabitants are numerous. The battle of Bautzen, in which the Russians and Prussians were defeated by Bonaparte, might have ended in the destruction of our settlement at Kleinwelcke, had it been otherwise decided. The French made it the receptacle of the sick and wounded. Their subsequent invasion of Silesia brought Gnadenberg into still greater danger. It was twice plundered; and on a representation being made to Bonaparte, he is said to have declared, that as the Moravian Brethren and he himself had one common end in view, — the establishment of general peace throughout all the world, — they should not be molested. He ordered the names of the four Silesian settlements to be written down, and promised them safety. Gnadenberg was at that time exposed to great danger, from balls and shells flying over, and entering the streets and houses. Herrnhut, in Upper Lusatia, was spared, being the resort, by turns, of general staffs of both armies, by which, however, immense expense was incurred. I will only relate one instance of their preservation among many: — A party, above a thousand strong, of Russians or Poles, I forget which, had encamped in the garden and premises behind the house of the Single Sisters. They were excessively wild, and no kind treatment seemed to make much impression upon them. Having threatened, as soon as it should grow dark, to seize upon the house, and their officers declaring that they could not restrain their men, the inhabitants were in the utmost state of consternation. Their only hope was in God, to whom they had recourse in fervent prayer, trusting to His mercy. About sunset, an order arrived from the general, commanding the whole party to join the main army near Zittau without a moment's delay. Thus speedy deliverance was wrought, and surely none could deny that the Lord had heard the prayers of his children offered up in their deep distress.

"I have thus endeavored, in some degree, to satisfy your wishes, and trust that I have not made any misstatements.

"I am, dear Sir,

"Your affectionate friend,

"C. IG. LA TROBE.

"*To Mr. John Bevans.*"

I shall conclude this chapter with an anecdote communicated to me by a valuable Friend, who felt himself placed in a situation, which exposed him to a kind of trial, different, in many respects, from what others had to experience, in support of the testimony against War. It not only shows the delicacy of those religious feelings which may arise in truly devoted

minds, and the benefit of yielding them faithful obedience, but may afford a useful lesson to others to attend to the pointings of duty in themselves, even when their nearest friends may not see things exactly in the same light. We cannot doubt that this conscientious individual was far from indulging a disposition to condemn any of his brethren, who might not have taken a similar view of the case. Yet a little reflection, it is presumed, must point out to every one the reasonableness of his religious scruples on the subject:—

“At the time when we were under the power of the military, and the civil authorities suspended, the town of C—— was threatened, or in expectation of being attacked. On walking out one day, I observed, posted up in various places, a printed order from the General, in the following terms:—*‘In case of alarm in the night, the inhabitants are required to place lights in the middle stories of their houses. The most severe and instantaneous punishment will be inflicted on such as neglect to comply with this order.’* A cloud of distress came over my mind on reading this notice. I knew that the *‘light in the windows’* was, that the soldiers might discern the enemy, and be able to fight; and *‘the most severe and instantaneous punishment’* was a license to the soldiers to put all instantly to death, where this order was not complied with. As I could not fight myself, I found I dare not hold a light for another to fight for me. This would be taking a more active part in a contest than I was easy to do; and how to act was a nice and difficult point. I informed Friends how I felt; but I found they did not all see alike, and few thought themselves so restricted as I did. At length, after some days, I felt inclined to go to the General myself; so, asking a Friend to accompany me, I went to him. He received us in a civil manner, and patiently heard me whilst I told him, that, as I could not fight myself, I was not easy to hold a candle for another to do it for me. I believe he perceived the distress of my mind, and the first thing he said was, *‘I think it is a pity you did not let me know your uneasiness sooner.’* He asked me if I came on behalf of the Society of Quakers in the town, or was it only the uneasiness of a few. I told him I did not come on behalf of the body at large. He said that he had issued the order as consistent with his duty as commanding officer, and, having issued it, he could not well rescind it now; but said, if I would furnish him with the names of such Friends as were uneasy to comply with the order, and where they lived, he would endeavor to have them protected in case of alarm. I told him that

perhaps there were some, who could not say, till the time of trial came, how far they might be easy to comply or not, and then it would be too late. Then, with much condescension and kindness, he desired me to furnish him with the names of all the members of the Society in the town; he would endeavor that they should not suffer for non-compliance with his order. This I complied with; but, the town not being attacked, the General's kind intentions were not called forth. It was, however, I thought, a memorable circumstance, that a General, in the midst of commotion, should so patiently listen to my reasons for not complying with his order, and promise, as far as he could, to protect us. As well as I can now remember, he went so far as to say, he did not think he should have issued the order just as he did, if he knew it would have given Friends so much uneasiness."

CHAPTER VI.

Of the General Preservation of the Society during the Rebellion.

THE Society of Friends is scattered over three Provinces in Ireland. In these, viz. Ulster, Leinster, and Munster, many of its members were brought into immediate contact with one or both of the hostile parties, in towns, villages, and retired country places. Some, it must also be acknowledged, were living with little more than an outward or formal profession of the principle against War, held as one of its Christian tenets by the Society; in fact, they submitted to the opinion of their friends, and followed traditionally the maxims of their education, without feeling such strong conviction of the indispensable duty which this principle enjoined, as would have made them willing to part with their liberty or property, much less with their lives, rather than to violate such an important testimony.

In this great variety of circumstances and of perils to which they were exposed, it is natural enough to inquire whether the Society lost any of its members. We are enabled to answer this question by an authentic document, issued by the Yearly Meeting in Dublin, which contains the following passage: "It is worthy of commemoration, and

cause of humble thankfulness to the Preserver of men, that, amidst the carnage and destruction which frequently prevailed in some parts, and notwithstanding the jeopardy in which some Friends stood every hour, and that they had frequently to pass through violent and enraged men, in going to and returning from our religious meetings, (which, with very few exceptions, were constantly kept up,) that the lives of the members of our Society were so signally preserved."

And, in the same document, an extract is given from the Epistle from the Yearly Meeting held in Dublin in 1801, addressed to the Yearly Meeting in Philadelphia, which states, that "it was cause of grateful acknowledgment to the God and Father of all our mercies, that, in retrospection to that gloomy season, when, in some places, Friends did not know but that every day would be their last, seeing and hearing of so many of their neighbors being put to death, that no member of our Society fell a sacrifice in that way, *but one young man.*"

That an exception should thus be made of one young man, in the accidents or allotments of a Society composed of some thousands, is in itself a remarkable occurrence; and every one must be curious to know under what circumstances the death of this individual took place.

There are some cases, in which an apparent exception confirms the law; and we are much mistaken, if, in this particular instance, the very exception will not be found to establish the principle, so far from weakening its practical force.

His name, as well as the place where this individual suffered, are well known; but it would not be consistent with the object of this narrative to publish them to the world. As the names of those who might be entitled to a little commendation, in so far as they acted in obedience to their principles, are generally concealed, it is the more necessary to shield from public notice the memory of one, whose untimely death, following, as it did, his deviation from these principles, formed so notable an exception.

This young man, apprehending that his life was in danger, and that he could find no protection but by outward means of defence, took up the resolution accordingly to put on a military uniform, and to associate with armed men. He told his connections, that they would all be murdered, if they remained in such a defenceless state in the country; and, taking with him some papers of consequence, he fled to a

neighboring garrison-town. But it so happened, that the very town* he chose as a place of refuge, was attacked and taken by the Insurgents; and, from the most credible information that can be collected, it appears that, when the contest was over, and he was wantonly firing out of a window upon them, the door of the house was forced open by the enraged enemy, and, in terror of his life, he sought to conceal himself in an upper chamber, where he was soon discovered, and put to death. It has been stated, I know not whether on sufficient authority, that he was marked, some time before, for his inconsistency and party-spirit, by those whom, in consequence of his decided opposition, he had thus made his enemies; and that he was formally threatened, if he persisted in such rash conduct, that he should lose his life.

Pitiable young man! How little did he know what was for his real good! He left his home and the wise instructions of his parents, thinking they would afford no protection in this time of peril. He calculated upon a short-sighted policy, as it proved, though he followed the usual maxims of the world; and what was the result? The means he took for his preservation proved his ruin. The dress and arms, in which he was accoutred, were his greatest enemies; they spoke the language of hostility, and invited it. The power in which he trusted failed him as in a moment. On the other hand, the relations he abandoned were saved; their peaceful principles were to them as a tower and shield; and their solitary home, though unfurnished with outward defences, proved in the end a place of safety.

It scarcely perhaps deserves to be mentioned,—but the fact appears to have a remote affinity to the immediate subject, and may afford some instruction,—that a member of the Society, who, under the influence of an improper curiosity, looked out of a window, during, or just after, an engagement, was shot at and wounded in the chest, but that he recovered.

On the other hand, the preservation of some, who seemed to be in more immediate danger, was remarkable: Two Friends, who had been travelling, and were entering the town of Kilcullen, just as a battle was commencing, stood in the open street during the engagement; and, though they ran a risk of being shot by the sentinel, on entering the town, as well as by the contending parties, in the heat of action, were happily preserved.

* Situated in the county of Kildare.

At Baltiboys, in the county of Wicklow, an elderly person was killed, during the Rebellion, who had been, a short time before, disunited for inconsistency in his conduct, and had meddled imprudently in political matters.

The following affecting narrative contains a few particulars relative to two brothers, named John and Samuel Jones, who were put to death by the Insurgents, on the day of the burning of Scullabogue-barn, in the lawn near it.

Although the event it records may not, at first sight, appear to have any proper connection with the subject of this publication, and even, to some, to militate against the principles advocated in it, yet it is considered that a closer view will point out the application; and, as truth is sacred, and ought not to be disguised, the insertion of the fact may serve, at least, to take away presumption from those who might be induced to look for preservation as the *necessary* effect of peaceable conduct. No such impression as the last is meant to be conveyed.

Samuel Jones, the younger of the two, had attended the meetings of Friends, and was considered to make no other profession of religion. Their father, having married out of the Society, lost his membership in consequence; and Samuel, though feeling an attachment to it, had never applied for admission. But, if unconquerable faith and fortitude in the hour of extremity, could entitle any one to the name of martyr, his name and the circumstances of his death deserve to be recorded, as affording an instructive example of Christian heroism; and he might have been justly regarded as a worthy associate of any Christian community. They lived at Kilbraney, near Old Ross, in the county of Wexford.

Samuel was of a meek and tender spirit, and remarked for the benevolence of his disposition. At one period, he had applied himself closely to the perusal of Fox's Martyrology, and other religious books; thus fortifying his mind, as it were, against the day of trial. As the preparations for the impending conflict were going forward, he became very thoughtful, apprehending that some serious calamity would befall him from the Insurgents. About a month before the lamentable event took place, he told his wife that he did not expect to die upon his bed; and, on one occasion, having, with her, accompanied some young women to their place of abode, who were gay and lively, he remarked, with much seriousness, "How little do these poor creatures know what

is before them!" The last time he attended the Meeting at Forrest, it appeared as if he considered it to be a final parting with his friends.

Shortly after this, as the troubles increased, and danger became more imminent, he was urged by his Protestant neighbors to fly for refuge to the adjacent garrison-town of New Ross; but he and his wife thought it right to remain at their own residence.

He was taken prisoner soon after, with his elder brother John, and conveyed to the mansion of F. King, of Scullabogue, his wife accompanying them. John lamented his situation and former manner of life, signifying that he was ill prepared to die; but Samuel encouraged him by repeating the declaration of our Savior, "He that findeth his life shall lose it, and he that loseth his life for my sake shall find it."

The house where they were imprisoned was close to the noted barn, in which, within a few days after they were taken, a number of their fellow-creatures were horribly burnt to death.* Like many others confined there, they had little to eat; and his wife, having procured a loaf of bread, brought it to him; but, being more inclined to sleep than to eat, he placed it under his head, intending to reserve it till he awoke, and, whilst he slept, it was conveyed away. When he awoke, and his wife was lamenting the loss of it at such a time of need, he patiently answered her, "God, who has permitted the food to be taken away, can likewise

* The following fact is supposed to indicate that the massacre of the Protestants at Scullabogue, to the number of two hundred and upwards, by burning some in the barn, and shooting others in the lawn, was not the effect of a sudden impulse, but of a preconcerted plan, to which even some of the Protestant generals of the rebels were not privy: Two days before the massacre, a member of the Society, of Scar, whose son was either taken, or went with the United Irishmen, to their camp, apprehending that he had influence with one of their generals, B. B. Harvey, (himself a Protestant,) to get off his son, repaired to Scullabogue, and spoke to the General. But the power of the latter being in some things merely nominal, he directed him to go to the priest, whose name was Roche, saying, "he could do nothing for him." Not being satisfied to do so, the Friend returned home. But whilst he was waiting for the General, he saw the two brothers Jones in the house; and, as he was attempting to go into the room where they were confined, he was pulled suddenly back by a man named Fitzhenry, who told him, that "*if he went into that room, he would never come out alive.*"

take away hunger." But afterwards, as he was walking about the room, his foot struck against a plate of potatoes, which lay concealed under some clothes, and, though cold, *to them* they were delicious. A New Testament, which they had with them, afforded them much comfort. On the morning of the day when the barn was set on fire,—which was also the day of the battle of Ross,—as they were reading in the New Testament, Samuel's wife inquired of one of the guards the cause of the peculiar smell, like burning animal matter, which she perceived. He told her it proceeded from some beef steaks they were preparing for breakfast! To a further inquiry she made, "what was meant by the firing of guns," he replied, "'Tis some criminals we are shooting." "And will they shoot us?" said the poor woman. "Oh! may be they will spare you till the last," was his answer.

In about five minutes after this, the three were taken out.

The Rebel officer who commanded there, had been reminded by Samuel of their having been school-fellows; and the latter had given him his watch and money to keep for him. It is even stated that the officer slept in the same bed with him part of the previous night. Having proposed to Samuel that he should conform and turn to the Roman Catholic profession, he replied, "Where shall I turn, but where my God is?" And, when he was urged to have his children sprinkled, he said, "My children are innocent, and I will leave them so."

When the two brothers, with Samuel's wife, were brought out to the lawn in front of the dwelling-house where they were imprisoned, to be put to death, some person said, "they were Quakers." It was replied, that, "if they could make it appear they were Quakers, they should not be killed." As they were not, in reality, members of the Society, this was not attempted to be done. Those who had them in custody then took Samuel aside, and, on certain conditions, offered him his life; but, whatever was the nature of these conditions, he firmly rejected them; and, when the *holy water*, as they termed it, was brought to them, he turned his back upon it.

The Insurgents then shot his elder brother, whom he very much encouraged, fearing his steadfastness might give way—for John had shown a disposition to turn Roman Catholic, if it might be the means of saving Samuel's life;—but the latter encouraged his brother to faithfulness, expressing the words of our blessed Savior, "They that deny me before

men, them will I also deny before my Father who is in heaven;" and he again revived the 39th verse of the same chapter in his remembrance. (See Matthew, chap. x.)

Samuel then desired his love to be given to different Friends, whom he named,—some of the Rebels, at the same time, with a view to depress his spirits, telling him, that these Friends had been made prisoners before he was, and shot at the camp at the Three Rocks. This communication had partially the effect they intended: he meekly replied, "They died innocent." He then took an affectionate farewell of his wife, who, with admirable fortitude, stood between the two brothers, holding a hand of each, when they were shot; and his last words were reported to be those expressions of our Lord and Savior, which he repeated for the third time in the hearing of his murderers, "He that findeth his life shall lose it, and he that loseth his life for my sake shall find it." It was cause of mournful reflection to his friends, that he was fired at three times before his death took place. He was an innocent young man, much beloved by his neighbors.

It seemed as if his wife would have shared the same fate, had not the officer who commanded interposed in her favor. She was permitted to convey their bodies to their former dwelling on a car; but, not being able, at that time, to procure coffins for them, she buried them in the garden. On the death of their aged father, which took place in the following month, and was probably hastened by the untimely death of his two only sons, the bodies of the three were taken to the burying-ground of the Friends at Forrest, and there interred, about seven weeks after.

When similar events occur under nearly similar circumstances, in different ages, and in different countries, we are in the habit of referring them, and mostly with good reason, to the influence and operation of some common principles. We judge that, whatever difference may exist between the customs and prejudices of one age and country and those of another, these customs and prejudices have not the power to counterbalance the practical weight and authority of the principles in question. But, if we find that these principles influence the conduct of our fellow-creatures, even when they are living in a state of uncultivated nature, we must be persuaded, that whatever motives operate so powerfully, in rude and civilized society, must be built upon some enduring

foundation, which times and seasons cannot alter. If, besides this, we discover that, in their direct effect, these principles lead to the welfare and happiness of man, the conclusion is irresistible, that they are not of mere temporary use, but of universal obligation; and that it is the duty of every individual, as well as of political bodies, to conform to them, and thus to make them the rule of public and private conduct. Now, such, it may be safely alleged, are the blessed effects of the principles of Peace, when, in a right spirit, they are acted upon and obeyed,—and such their influence upon mankind, without restriction to heathens or Christians, to individuals or nations. For, whatever individual manifestly declares and proves himself a lover and maker of Peace, is enabled to live comparatively at peace, and is respected; and whatever nation holds up the same standard, and conforms to the same rule, taking no undue advantage, but acting in good faith towards others, will never fail to impress the world with esteem and admiration, and to hold mankind in awe by its very virtues. This is neither a new nor hypothetical ground of reasoning; it is confirmed by what is called profane, as well as by sacred history.

The preceding reflections have arisen upon comparing the state of the Society of Friends, both at the time of the first settlement in Pennsylvania and afterwards, and the exceptions that occurred in the latter case, with the circumstances and the exception which are stated above to have taken place in Ireland.

It is well known that the peaceful founder of Pennsylvania established himself securely in that country, at a time when the name of a European was almost hateful to the Aborigines, on account of the perfidy and cruelty which the former had manifested. No other reason for the opposite treatment *he* received could be assigned but this,—that he adopted a different line of policy. By his peaceable attitude he disarmed their violence; and by his sincerity he gained their esteem. His towns, without either garrison or fortress, were protected; at least, were free from assault. And peace was maintained, not only with the Indian neighbors, but with the more dangerous Europeans, as long as the councils of Pennsylvania were directed by peaceable men. When, at last, this State assumed a warlike character, it was assailed like the rest, and experienced the calamities of war.

It appears, also, that, during the conflict between the Anglo-Americans and the Indian natives, so long as the

members of the Society remained unarmed, they escaped without injury; but, when they took up arms, or fled to garrison-towns for protection, and happened to fall in the way of the Indians, they lost their lives.

When arms were seen in the hands of those who were looked upon as men of Peace, they excited the distrust of the warlike Indian. The weapon of *defence* (it might only be named) to him who bore it, was an object of *offence* to him who saw it; because it conveyed the notion of hostility, and carried the idea of a spirit capable of revenge. When this appeared, the character of the peaceful Christian was lost, and with it one of the best defences with which a human being could be guarded.

A Friend, named Thomas Chalkley, who was travelling in New England in the year 1704, informs us, that, "about this time, the Indians were very barbarous in the destruction of the English inhabitants, scalping some, and knocking out the brains of others, men, women, and children, by which the country was greatly alarmed, both by night and day; but the great Lord of all was pleased wonderfully to preserve our Friends, especially those who kept faithful to their peaceable principle, according to the doctrine of Christ in the Holy Scriptures, as recorded in his excellent sermon, which he preached on the mount."

Among the many hundreds that were slain, he heard but of three Friends being killed; and, according to the information he received, their destruction was very remarkable. The one was a woman, the other two were men.

"The men," he informs us, "used to go to labor without any weapons, and trusted to the Almighty, and depended on his providence to protect them, (it being their principle not to use weapons of war to offend others, or defend themselves;) but, a spirit of distrust taking place in their minds, they took weapons of war to defend themselves; and the Indians, who had seen them several times without them, and let them alone, saying, 'They were peaceable men, and hurt nobody, *therefore* they would not hurt them,'—now, seeing them have guns, and supposing they designed to kill the Indians, they therefore shot the men dead.

"The woman had remained in her habitation, and could not be free to go to a fortified place for preservation—neither she, her son, nor daughter—nor to take thither the little ones; but the poor woman, *after some time*, began to let in a slavish fear, and did advise her children to go with her to a fort not far from their dwelling. Her daughter, being

one that trusted in the name of the Lord, the mighty tower to which the righteous flee and find safety, could not consent to go with her."

The daughter testifies, concerning her mother, that the latter did not feel herself easy at the garrison; but "often said to many, that she felt herself in a beclouded condition, and more shut from counsel than ever she had been since she knew the truth;"—"and, being uneasy, she went to move to a Friend's house that lived in the neighborhood; and as she was moving, the bloody, cruel Indians lay by the way and killed her!"

As to the young woman herself, her husband at first treated her impression, that it was right to remain quietly in their habitation, as a mere conceit, the offspring of delusion, and he urged her strongly to go to the garrison; but she told him "he must never ask her to move again, for she durst not do it." It seems that she had already been prevailed upon to move to another house a little nearer the garrison, but had felt condemnation in her mind for that step. Her husband still urged that it was a *notion*, (meaning a delusive impression,) till a Friend came, "who satisfied him so well, that he never asked her more to go, but was very well contented to stay all the wars; and then," she adds, "things were made more easy, and we saw abundance of the wonderful works, and of the mighty power of the Lord, in keeping and preserving us, when the Indians were at our doors and windows, and at other times."

The Indians said, "They had no quarrel with the Quakers, for they were a quiet, peaceable people, and hurt nobody, and that therefore none should hurt them."

And, although about this time the Indians shot many people as they rode along the highway, and murdered many in their beds, Friends travelled the country without injury. "The people generally rode and went to their worship armed, but Friends went to their meetings without either sword or gun, having their trust and confidence in God." (See Journal of Thomas Chalkley, chap. ii.)

This is the testimony of an individual worthy of the fullest credit, as to matters of fact which occurred more than a century ago.

Thomas Story informs us, that "a young man, a Friend, and a tanner by trade, going from the town to his work, *with a gun in his hand*, and another with him, *without any*, the Indians *shot him who had the gun, but hurt not the other*; and, when they knew the young man they had killed was a

Friend, they seemed to be sorry for it, but blamed him for carrying a gun; for *they knew the Quakers would not fight, nor do them any harm*; and, therefore, *by carrying a gun, they took him for an enemy.*"*

If we go back to the early history of the Society of Friends in Ireland, we shall find that they were spread over the country in considerable numbers at the time of the Revolution in 1688. The difficulties and distresses, in which Friends were involved at that period, were much greater, and more extensive, than in the last Rebellion. We possess, indeed, few documents from which we can draw a fair comparison. But, so far as authentic information reaches, it appears, that, by keeping true to their peaceable principles, the members of the Society, who lived in districts a prey to violence and depredation, were often made instrumental in saving the lives of their neighbors, having generally found favor with the Government, and conducting themselves without offence to the people.

Considering also their numbers, and the manner in which they were exposed, by attending duly their religious meetings, their lives were signally preserved.

William Edmunstone, a valuable Friend, residing in the Queen's County, who had been a soldier himself, and kept a Journal of some of the transactions of that period, has left the following important testimony:—

"The Earl of Tyrconnel, then Lord Deputy of Ireland, armed the Irish, and disarmed most of the English, so that great fear came upon the Protestants. Most of the great leading men, and many others, left their places and substance, and went for England; others of them got into garrisons, and those that staid in their dwellings lay open to spoil. An open war soon broke out, and abundance of the Irish, (who went in bands, but were not of the army,) called Rapparees, (or Tories,) plundered and spoiled many of the English Protestants; also many of the army, that were under command in troops and companies, were very abusive, being countenanced by their officers."— W. E. concluded that these abuses were "a contrivance to alarm and affright all the English, to make them run for England."

On several occasions, he exerted himself with good effect, by applying personally to the Government for the relief of his friends and neighbors. "I was often," he says, "at Dublin, and used what interest I had gotten with the Govern-

* Clarkson's Life of Penn, vol. ii.

ment for the public good. And, as the Irish army were marching to the North against the Protestants there in arms, I was much concerned, with some Friends in Dublin, to use all our interest with the chief officers, to spare and be kind to our friends in the North, for they were not in arms; and many of them promised they would, and performed their promises."

"Now calamity increased; the Rapparees, on one hand, plundered and spoiled many of the English; and, on the other hand, the army, marching and quartering, took what they pleased from us: our families were their servants, to make what we had ready for them; and it looked like sudden famine, there was such great destruction.

"In those times, I was much in Dublin, applying to the Government in behalf of the country,—for the Lord had given Friends favor with the Government; and they would hear my complaint, and gave forth several orders to magistrates and officers of the army, to suppress Rapparees, and restrain their abuses; and they stood a little in awe of me, for they knew I had an interest with the Government."

"Now was wickedness let loose and got a head, so that, by violence and cruelty, most of our Protestant neighbors were forced from their dwellings, and several families came to my house, until every room was full; also most of their cattle, that were left, they brought to my land, thinking themselves and goods safer there than elsewhere. Now were we under great exercise and danger, not only of losing our goods, but our lives.

"At the Boyne fight, the Irish army being beaten, many of them fled our road, and plundered many in our parts; they plundered my house several times over. The English army did not come near us for some time, and, to look outwardly, we were exposed to the wills of cruel, bloodthirsty men.

"When the English and Scotch came into those parts, they plundered the Irish. Frequently, when the English soldiers took away the Irish people's cattle, I persuaded them to give some of them again, or bought them for a small matter with my own money, and gave them to the owners; also let their horses graze on my land, to save them from the plunderers."

"When the English army went into winter quarters, the Rapparees increased in number and violence; and, notwithstanding the services W. E. had often rendered them, one night they set fire to his house, and took him and his two sons

to murder them. But they were providentially preserved, though W. E. had to endure severe hardship and imprisonment afterwards, which nearly cost him his life.*

Many other Friends suffered the loss of their property, and their lives were also endangered; of whom further particulars may be seen in Ruttys History of the Society in Ireland. The following cases may be interesting to the reader:—

“At the town of Cavan, (a place that lay open to both the armies and to the cruelty of the rabble,) several Friends kept their places and dwellings, and held their usual meetings; and though sometimes, in skirmishes between the two armies, many were slain, yet Friends’ lives were wonderfully preserved, though in their outward substance they were spoiled and stripped, and at last commanded by the chief officer of the Irish army to depart, and their houses were burnt.”

“Near Edenderry, (an open place much exposed to the Rapparees,) Friends were greatly spoiled in their flocks and outward substance; but their lives were wonderfully preserved, though the bloody Rapparees broke in upon the town one night, and burnt part of it, and killed some of the inhabitants.”

At Moate Granoge, six miles from Athlone, the latter of which was then a chief Irish garrison, and a noted place of refuge, to which the Rapparees, after scouring the country, carried their spoils, “John Clibborn kept his place long in much danger, as did most Friends of that meeting, which they still kept up with great difficulty. While J. C. could possibly keep his house, it was open to all, and a succor to many, both Friends and others; and in times of great skirmishes and slaughter, he did not flee till at length most hardly used, plundered, and quite spoiled in his outward substance.” He was threatened with death, and his house was burnt.

“Mountmellick and Monrath, two country unwallled towns, by reason of their bordering upon the bogs and mountains, often had great store of the ravenous Rapparees haunting them; and, being places of little or no defence, Friends that dwelt in them sustained a large share of the many hardships of the calamitous times, and were greatly exercised under a concern both for their families and neighbors, still keeping up their meetings with an eye to the Lord, who did not leave nor forsake his people in their many trials, but wonderfully provided for them; so that it is to be admired how their little

* Sir Wm. Edmunstone’s Journal, Sections xi. and xii

stock for their families held out, considering how their houses were filled with people; and many alarms came from the Irish, threatening to destroy those places, and kill all the English."

"Gershon Boat, dwelling at Borrisaleagh, remote from Friends, and ten miles from any meeting, in a place of some strength, suffered many hardships, and escaped many dangers, both at home and on the road going to meetings; his house being often set upon by the Irish, both of the army and Tories; but he was wonderfully delivered out of their hands; and many English families, both priests and others, were succored there, and helped on their way, who had been much spoiled and stripped in the Irish quarters where they dwelt."

After enumerating these and other instances of the kind, the author of the History remarks:—"These particulars may show the eminent providential hand of the Lord over Friends, and his care and kindness to preserve them in the midst of such great perils; and many more might be instanced: and, though in those times many of the English neighbors fell by the hands of those bloody murderers, yet we know but of four that we could own to be of our Society *in all the nation* that fell by the hands of cruelty, *and two of them too forwardly ventured their lives when they were lost.*"

"And it is remarkable that Friends' meetings were preserved peaceable, and that they kept their meetings according to the usual manner for the worship of God, as well as for church discipline, without much disturbance from either party; though many times Friends went to them in great perils by reason of the Rapparees, who, in many places, waylaid people to rob and murder them."

After these trials, which lasted nearly three years, were over, in the year 1692, it was computed that the losses of Friends throughout the nation amounted in the whole to £100,000. To many of the sufferers relief had been afforded by their sympathizing brethren in Ireland; and Friends in London signified their readiness to assist them. But it appears, that as at first the several provinces were able to help one another, the friendly offer was declined, with suitable acknowledgments: afterwards, however, they accepted of their distant friends' benevolence, to the amount of nearly £2000.

Even from Friends in Barbadoes the sum of £100 was sent for the relief of Friends in Ireland, on this occasion. Thus

were the members of the Society, wherever scattered, nearly united in sympathy and affection.*

BOMBARDMENT OF COPENHAGEN.

The following anecdote is related by an eye-witness—a lieutenant in the navy. There is reason to believe, that the person of whom it is related was not a *member* of the Society of Friends, though he might be of the same principle with them on the subject of War. This does not detract from, but gives additional force to the fact related of him.

“At the last siege of Copenhagen, being then a young midshipman on board his Majesty’s ship *Valiant*, I was particularly impressed with an object that I saw three or four days after the terrific bombardment of that devoted place. For several nights previous to the surrender of Copenhagen, the darkness of the night was ushered in with a tremendous roar of guns and mortars, accompanied by the whizzing of those destructive and burning engines of warfare, Congreve’s rockets. The dreadful effects of this destructive warfare were made visible by the brilliant lights in the city. Soon did the blazing houses, and the burning cottages of the laboring poor, illuminate the heavens. The wide-spreading flames, reflected on the water, showed a forest of ships, all assembled round the city for its destruction. When the bombardment had commenced, and every woman and child fled from the destructive shell, shot, and rocket, and from the burning and falling houses, a little child was seen running across the street for shelter, it knew not where, when a rocket, flying through the street, killed, in its way, the *poor innocent*. Oh, Britain, queen of nations! mother of such manly sons! are these thy works?—After several of these horrific nights, the Danes gave up their arsenal, and all it contained, to the English. Some days after, walking among the ruins, consisting of the cottages of the *poor*, houses of the rich, manufactories, lofty steeples, humble meeting-houses;—in the midst of this broad field of desolation stood one house—all around it was a burnt mass—this stood alone, untouched by the fire—a monument of mercy. ‘Whose house is that?’ I asked. ‘That,’

* See History of the Rise and Progress of the People called Quakers, in Ireland, from the year 1653 to 1750, by Thomas Wight and John Rutt, ch. ii.

said the interpreter, 'belongs to, and is occupied by a member of the Society of Friends: he would not leave the house, but remained in prayer with his family during the bombardment.' Surely, thought I, the 'hairs of thy head were numbered.' 'He has been a shield to thee in battle;' 'a wall of fire round thee;' a bright and shining witness of that care our Lord and Savior has over those who follow peace. 'Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God.' 'Tis the example of the Prince of Peace; and all who follow him need not, and will not, fear the puny arm of man. It will be well with the righteous in those times.

"LIEUT. J. W. H. HANDLEY."

The following extract from Raymond's Travels in the Pyrenees contains some reflections that are worthy of being added to this chapter.

Speaking of the Spanish smugglers, he says, "These smugglers are as adroit as they are determined, are familiarized at all times with peril, and march in the very face of death; their first movement is a never-failing shot, and certainly would be a subject of dread to most travellers; for where are they to be dreaded more than in deserts, where crime has nothing to witness it, and the feeble no assistance? As for myself, *alone and unarmed*, I have met them without anxiety, and have accompanied them without fear. We have little to apprehend from men whom we inspire with no distrust nor envy, and every thing to expect in those from whom we claim only what is due from man to man. The laws of nature still exist for those who have long shaken off the laws of civil government. At war with society, they are sometimes at peace with their fellows. The assassin has been my guide in the defiles of the boundaries of Italy; the smuggler of the Pyrenees has received me with a welcome in his secret paths.

"Armed, I should have been the enemy of both; unarmed, they have alike respected me. In such expectation, I have long since laid aside all menacing apparatus whatever. Arms may, indeed, be employed against the wild beast, but no one should forget that they are no defence against the traitor; that they irritate the wicked, and intimidate the simple; lastly, that the man of peace, among mankind, has a much more sacred defence — his character."

When such feelings as these arise in the breast of a man, who, simply from outward observation, is led to view human nature as a compound of good and evil, that may be concili-

ated by kindness, and aggrieved by the contrary ; how strong, in the eyes of the Christian, must be the sanction of principles derived from the spirit of his holy religion, whose direct object it is to cherish such benevolent dispositions, as would, if men would suffer themselves to be influenced by them, lead to universal peace and harmony in the world !

CHAPTER VII.

Of the Brotherly Care of the Society towards its Suffering Members.

It has already been stated, that, on the first appearance of the civil feuds which ushered in the Rebellion of 1798, even so early as the year 1795, the Society of Friends exercised a consistent care in advising its members to destroy their arms, that they might on all hands keep themselves free from the stain of blood. We have now to record the fact of their brotherly sympathy being extended in deeds of active benevolence towards those families and individuals, who, by reason of their severe losses, were so reduced as to stand in need of their friends' assistance. The proofs of a wise Christian economy are no less manifest in the latter case than in the former.

A committee of the Yearly Meeting, held in Dublin, was very early appointed to take the circumstances of their suffering brethren into consideration ; for many, who had been blessed with comfortable homes and means of supporting their families, were left almost destitute ; and this committee recommended a voluntary subscription to be raised by the different monthly meetings for their relief.

The following is an extract from the Report of this committee presented to the Yearly Meeting in 1799. It will be seen that they scrupled conscientiously to seek redress for their losses by the usual legal means :—

“We apprehend it proper to inform the Yearly Meeting, that shortly after our appointment, divers members of our Religious Society having suffered loss and damage in their substance, in various ways, by the commotions which were in this nation, we came to the judgment, that it would be inconsistent for any of our members in most, if not in all, cases, to

seek for, or to receive compensation from government, or other legal redress by presentment: and we having received account, that in different parts divers Friends had suffered so materially as to stand in need of assistance, recommended to the different monthly meetings to set forward a liberal subscription to afford some relief to those Friends. In consequence whereof, the sum of £3847 11s. 9½d. has been subscribed and received; and a number of suffering cases having been laid before us, we have adjudged the sum of £2217 7s. 2½d. for their relief; their losses appearing to amount to upwards of £7500, exclusive of many cases not yet disposed of, or returned; and there remains a fund of £1630 4s. 7d. still to be applied for this purpose. We have also received account of the losses of sundry Friends to a considerable amount, whose circumstances did not make it necessary for them to need any relief at present."

The memorial issued by the said Yearly Meeting in 1810, relative to this event, proceeds to state:—

"The said committee further reported to the Yearly Meeting in 1800, viz. 'We have attended to the cases of those Friends who have suffered in the late commotions, and believe suitable assistance has been afforded to such; and that there are not now likely to be any further cases transmitted to the committee. The amount distributed to those who appeared to stand in need thereof is £2852 15s. 10½d., and the balance remaining in the treasurer's hands being £994 15s. 11d., we have come to the judgment that it be returned to the different monthly meetings, in proportion to the sums sent up by them; and that it ought to be returned, in like proportion, to the Friends subscribing the same.'"

The document of 1810 further states, that "The Yearly Meeting in London in 1799, being dipped into sympathy with Friends in Ireland, cordially offered their assistance, if further exigencies should require.

"Neither did distance of place prevent our brethren in a distant land from desiring to contribute to the necessities of their Friends in distress; for, by the following extract from the Epistle from the Yearly Meeting held in Philadelphia in the 4th month, 1799, it appears that the same spirit of brotherly affection and sympathy prevailed in the hearts of Friends there.

"We retain in affectionate remembrance the sympathy of Friends in your nation, and the generous relief you afforded to our brethren who were much stripped of their property by the war in this country some years since; and we are

thankful in feeling a degree of the same brotherly love, by which we are made one in the Lord, wherever dispersed or situated; desiring if, at this time, or in consequence of future trials, brethren among you should be reduced to similar circumstances, we may receive information and be permitted to follow your benevolent example.’”

This affectionate proposal was gratefully acknowledged by the Yearly Meeting in Dublin in 1801, in its Epistle to the Yearly Meeting in Philadelphia, in these terms:—“Your Epistle given forth in 1799, addressed to Friends in Ireland, we received; which feelingly carried with it genuine marks of strong affection, and near sympathy with us, under the trials, which Friends in this land, previous thereto, and about that time, labored under.

“It is cause of humble thankfulness that the dispensation was not of a very long continuance, though many Friends suffered deeply in their property while the conflict continued; and it was much more severe in some parts of the nation than others.

“A considerable sum was raised, which, under the direction and management of a National Committee, was administered to the relief of the sufferers in such proportion, as, from the accounts transmitted of their loss and circumstances, they appeared to require. When these wants were supplied, there was a redundancy, which was directed to be returned to the subscribers; so that we do not at present stand in need of making any further use of your brotherly intimation of affording assistance, than that of expressing a grateful sense thereof.”

Without question, it must afford a pleasing reflection to every humane mind, that a Religious Society, conformably to the analogy of the outward body, should, in this way, suffer and sympathize in the sufferings of all its members; and, though dispersed over a nation, should constitute, as it were, but a single family, bound together by common interests.

Viewed abstractedly as the effect of a benevolent Christian economy, practised in a particular Society, the fact must also be a source of gratification, that strangers, even in distant countries, should offer their kind assistance to those in need. For we are told, that the Friends in England, and even in America, requested permission to send their contributions, should they be required.

But, contemplating the fact, as if the same principles of conduct might be made applicable to the whole Christian community how consoling and animating would be the pros-

pect of all the members of the Christian Church, however scattered, and however divided by minute shades of opinion, being brought to unite in the bond of Peace, in a common desire to do each other good, to obey the same rule, and to adopt in their practice the same principles!

It would require no great stretch of faith to believe, that conduct like this would lead them to a union which no earthly power could shake, and that Jews, Mahometans, and Pagans, would bow down with reverence to the spirit of Christianity, and surrender their might before the excellency of such a peaceful dominion. Because these, constituting part of the human family, and therefore objects of this catholic benevolence, would receive from their Christian neighbors such lessons of peace and good-will, as would imbue them with kind dispositions, and take away all evil intentions from their minds.

It could not injure any, whatever might be their opinions with regard to the necessity of War, to study with deep attention the moral effect of this Christian spirit or universal charity; which has thus a tendency to unite together nations, kindreds, and people, as children of one parent, and servants of one Lord,—“thinking no evil,” “forbearing one another,” “loving one another,” “preferring one another,” “seeking the good of all;”—and to compare it with the opposite spirit, which is ever busy in discovering faults, in awakening evil surmisings, in sowing the seeds of contention, and setting man at variance with man, in kindling the flame of War, and promoting the misery, demoralization, and destruction of the human race. How can we conceive it possible that these opposite dispositions should ever be brought to coincide in the *perfect* character—the true disciple of Jesus Christ?

Is it possible that the same individual can be actuated at the same time by the maxims and principles of Peace, and the maxims and principles of War? But if these are incompatible, and War could be tolerated under the Christian code; then the maxims and principles of Peace might be dispensed with under the same code. Where shall we find the authority for thus stripping off the distinguishing badge of the Christian, that he may be fitted for the field of battle? There is no such authority: it is opposed by every rule and maxim, by every law and principle, in the New Testament. Consequently, the maxims and principles of Peace cannot, under any circumstances, be dispensed with; and warlike habits and dispositions are entirely incompatible with the meek and forgiving spirit of Christianity. The rule of expediency, as

it is called, may promise much ; and men may employ their sophistry in attempting to reconcile the two characters. But calculations of present advantage, can never be admitted to form a part of the motives by which a Christian should be governed ; nor will he, who, in simplicity of heart, wishes to follow the example of a meek and forgiving Savior, with faithful obedience to his laws, and humble confidence in his divine protection, ever be justified in forsaking the direct and straight-forward course of integrity, to preserve life or property, for the serpentine mazes of a wily policy, by which he might bring himself to think that he could secure these transitory blessings.

CHAPTER VIII.

Concluding Observations.

SOME observations naturally present themselves to the mind on reading the foregoing narrative.

We have seen that, in a time of civil commotion, in which it would be difficult to conceive a state of things attended in some places with more aggravated circumstances, a number of individuals, following the benevolent precepts of the Gospel, were enabled to keep themselves free from party-feelings, to open their houses and to lend their assistance to the distressed, whatever their denomination ; and that, finally, they were permitted to experience preservation in the midst of a most barbarous and destructive warfare. This exemplary humanity, and this remarkable preservation, were not confined to one or a few individuals in a particular spot ; but were common to a considerable number of persons, in different parts of an extensive country, professing and following the same principles. And when they were threatened with the burning of their habitations, the destruction of their families, and the loss of their own lives, if they persisted in acts denounced by their enemies ; they were favored with fortitude, notwithstanding, to pursue that line of conduct, which they believed to be consistent with their duty, fearlessly and faithfully, in the presence of armed multitudes, who seemed even to be kept in awe by their Christian magnanimity.

We have seen that the signal preservation which the

members of the Society were favored to experience, was marked by one exception, in the case of a young man, who fell a victim to his own temerity; and that the peculiar circumstances, under which this apparent exception took place, serve rather to illustrate and establish, than to invalidate, the principles by which the Society was governed.

In addition to these things, we have to notice, in the economy of the Society itself, the sympathy and brotherly kindness manifested not only by their countrymen, but by Friends at a distance; by the first, in coming forward to relieve their suffering brethren, and, by the last, in offers of assistance, should it be required.

Upon a consideration of all these things, a number of reflections offer themselves to our notice.

In the first place, we naturally feel a desire, that principles like those by which this body of Christians were actuated, should prevail more generally in the world; and we are led to inquire if it be not possible, that moral effects which took place on a small scale, should take place also on a larger; that a beginning might thus be made for that glorious consummation, when *men shall learn war no more*.

We must be satisfied, that what is wanting, in the first instance, is courage to maintain the self-denying and peaceable principles of the Gospel; and, if examples be required, then, by the facts recorded, we give the advocates of war decisive proofs that these principles are not visionary and inapplicable to the state of civil society; but that they are substantial and efficient when brought into operation, contributing to the preservation of individuals, and to the general good of the human family.

Can we reasonably doubt, if the numbers of those who, amidst the horrors of this Rebellion, acted upon these principles, and endeavored thus to fulfil their duties to their fellow-creatures, had been still greater, that the triumph of humanity, or of peaceable practices over warlike, would also have been greater, and that many, who fell victims, would have been spared?

In proportion as the elements of Peace encroach upon and displace the elements of War, the force of the latter must become weaker; in other words, in proportion to the numbers of those who lift up the standard of Peace in any country, Peace is diligently pursued and religiously preserved, and the sparks of contention, whenever they appear, are, as when water is cast upon fire, stifled and extinguished.

For, as this devouring element only spreads among com-

bustible materials, when these are *waning*; it must *cease*; so the passions of revenge and cruelty, when they are opposed by meekness and benevolence, *having no food for the flame*, must, of necessity, be *calmed and appeased*.

Were a whole nation to act upon these principles, what an example it would be to the world! and is there any wrath or violence of man it could have cause to fear?

If the life of *one man* is preserved, who, in time of imminent peril, conscientiously displays the mark of true discipleship, in love to his enemy as well as to his brother, we rejoice at the event; though, as an isolated example, we might not perhaps be induced to build upon it in our future conduct. But if *a number*, acting upon the same principles, under very various circumstances, are found to experience preservation, we have then something like the proofs afforded by matter of fact, to lead us to entertain a question upon the possibility of the same effects resulting from the same causes, on a still larger scale, if men would only have courage to make the experiment.

If, in addition to the evidence derived from experience, of the efficacy of peaceable conduct, we have the precept and example of Him who pronounced his blessing upon the peace-maker, what stronger sanction can a sincere Christian look for, to determine him to renounce the spirit and the trade of War, and to enlist himself under the banner of the Prince of Peace?

And, as we could not rationally, and certainly not as Christians, contend, that a lengthened existence was a proof of peculiar favor, in a pilgrimage like that of the present life, in which some of the best of men have been permitted to run but a short career, before they were summoned to their reward,—we are called upon religiously to adhere to our principles in times of outward extremity, without any prospective view to a limited or a protracted duration. The Supreme Being is surely not less merciful to his creatures, because he permits some of them to fall a sacrifice to the sword of the cruel, in order that they may be translated, a little sooner than would otherwise be their lot, to the regions of bliss and immortality.

The sword of the cruel, we cannot for a moment doubt, has never been permitted to cut off the innocent, without a merciful design to the sufferer, and a gracious purpose of watering and multiplying the seed of the true church with the martyrs' blood. For, whosoever has died in the faithful support of his Christian testimonies, has, in all ages, been a

martyr, and we may confidently say, that his blood has not been shed upon the earth in vain.

Whenever violence, therefore, has been permitted to gain, as it were, a temporary advantage over the meek and unresisting spirit of Christianity — which is the spirit of Peace — we are warranted in concluding that it has been for some special end. And what are we to consider that end, but the ultimate triumph of good over evil, and, consequently, the enlargement of the Messiah's kingdom? In all ages, when devoted and faithful martyrs have sealed their testimony with their blood, it has proved a seed more or less fruitful, according to a variety of concomitant circumstances. In various periods of the church, its living members have had to pass through different dispensations, adapted to the exigencies of the times; in some, more humiliating — in others, more triumphant — in all, deeply baptizing to themselves. But the self-denying spirit of Christianity requires, that, in all cases, the possessions and honors of this world, and even life itself, should be held in light estimation, compared with the joys, and rewards, and glories, of immortality. When violence, therefore, in a dark and degenerate age, is allowed to prevail over Christian meekness, as if there were no Providence to protect the good, it cannot be consistently supposed, that these are actually forsaken, and that the possession of property and of life, secured by means of active resistance, is to be accounted a sign of divine favor, justifying the use of arms.

In such an age, for inscrutable purposes, examples are, perhaps, more necessary to be made to the world, of the sufferings, than of the triumphs, of Christianity.

But if, in former times, Christians were called upon to seal their testimony with their blood, can they now refuse to do the same, when present advantage may come in competition with the duties of love and forbearance?

If men are determined, in their minds, to live at ease, at all hazards, and conceive that Christianity does not *now* require of them the sacrifices which it did in the first ages of the church, they will, unquestionably, suffer the standard of the Cross to fall from their hands, rather than expose themselves to suffering, and perhaps to contempt, in the support of it.

While, on the one hand, therefore, it is certain, that no degree of bitterness and persecution can extinguish the light of the true church, — on the other, all those who endeavor to hold up this light in its purity to the world — whether it be to an age sunk in ignorance, or carelessly reposing in the false

light of an erroneous philosophy — are as stars in the firmament, and as witnesses of imperishable renown, who have borne a noble testimony for the truth, and will be accessory, in their measure, to its ultimate triumph over darkness and delusion. Hence, as a faithful and conscientious support of any Christian testimony, even if the sacrifice should proceed as far as the stake or the cross, will infallibly strengthen the bonds and attachments to the Christian church, and help to keep its holy flame alive in the earth; so every Christian who, in a meek and peaceable spirit, suffers wrong, either in person or property, from violent men, exalts the character of his religion in the eyes of the world, and, after the glorious example of his divine Master, *in his measure*, holds up, for imitation, the same spirit of meekness, forbearance, and universal benevolence, that was in Christ.

This, therefore, is the peculiar feature of the Gospel, which is calculated, more than any other, to excite the love and admiration of the world. For it is almost impossible that rational beings should contemplate a religion, which looks upon all men with peace and good will, and enables its followers *to forgive them that offend, to love their enemies, to do good even to them that hate, and to bless them that persecute*, without feelings of admiration, and of reverence for its divine precepts.

It is indeed to be acknowledged, that events, like some of those we have been relating, have a tendency to rouse our honest indignation against cruelty, perpetrated or designed; so that, in the natural heat of the mind, we are almost tempted, like some formerly, to pray that we might be armed with power to execute summary vengeance upon the authors and projectors of such atrocities: these are natural feelings, but they are not Christian. And, while it is the duty of an honest historian, with just abhorrence of crime, to detail facts as they occurred, it is also the duty of a fellow-mortal to temper this indignation with feelings of Christian compassion. While we lament the vices of others, let us not forget our own infirmities, and our own duties. If these are not Christian duties, what are they to be denominated? Are we at liberty to take the natural impulses which are common to us with the brutes, and which flourish most in the most barbarous state of human society, for rules of conduct, and motives of action, more obligatory than the moderating, humanizing, and restraining precepts of the Gospel?

It is not presumed, that the conquest over our own passions and resentments is easily acquired. Like other Christian

duties, the subjection of our natural impulses is a work of time, and discipline, and labor. No man can, *at once*, be brought to see that it would be wrong to take the life of a remorseless assassin, who is dealing destruction around him, as with an insatiable thirst for human blood; yet no man who professes Christian principles, can doubt that there is a power able to control his fury, if it were consistent with divine mercy that it should be controlled. And, surely, various effectual means are in the power, and at the disposal of the wise and good, both to restrain and to punish the murderer, without either taking away *his* life, or violating *their own* Christian principles.

On a solemn review, therefore, of the two states — that of the ferocious murderer, cut off in the midst of his crimes, or that of an innocent victim prepared for a better life; which is most entitled to our serious commiseration? — He who yields up his life, with a meek and forgiving disposition, in obedience to the law, and after the example of Christ; or, he who is cut down in his enormities, and sent unprepared to the bar of the Righteous Avenger? — Surely, the latter.

But, it may be said, that this reasoning does not so much apply to the conflict of the innocent and cruel, as to that between one of the latter and a human being not yet in a situation fitting him to appear before his Maker; and hence, that such a one ought to guard his existence, by every means in his power, in order that he may be better prepared. To this objection a very brief reply may be made, that the perfect rules of Christian excellence cannot be modified or lowered, at the will of man; so as to acquit any who may content themselves with the adoption of measures, which, so far from being *allowed*, are strictly *forbidden*, even to the *most upright* pillars of the Christian faith.

When we can find in the New Testament *two* paths for Christian travellers; — one for the more advanced, and another laid down for him who is not disposed to walk in such a strait and narrow way; then, indeed, some relaxation of Christian precepts may be allowed: but, if it be granted to one, it must be so to all. And as there is plainly but one code, admitting of neither exceptions nor reservations, no man can expect to justify himself in any act that does not come up to the *full* measure of the excellence and unsophisticated construction of the sacred rule.

Is a Christian, then, to take the law of violence in his own hands, to avenge himself by the strength of his own arm, for wrongs he may either fear or suffer? Or is he, in humble

reliance upon Providence, to oppose his integrity, and his innocence, and the weight of his Christian testimonies, to the arms and outrage of the violent?

If we reason with those who answer the first question in the affirmative, we find, that they readily admit that it is a praiseworthy self-devotion to lay down our lives for our country, or in defence of our civil liberties, or of our kindred; but, at the same time, insinuate that it is mean and ignoble to die for our religion, in the peaceable support and vindication of any of our testimonies. That is to say, according to their views, — It is more the duty of a Christian to sacrifice his life in the defence of earthly comforts and attractions, than to lay it down, if he should fall into the hands of the cruel, who will not respect his testimonies, in that meek and forgiving spirit, which his religion enjoins, with the prospect of eternal happiness as the reward of his obedience: — To secure the fame of a patriot, or for some other sublunary object, he may lose his life with *honor*; but to secure an object that is eternal, the sacrifice is accounted ignominious! — In the short and weary pilgrimage of this life, which has, in reality, few objects deserving the exclusive notice of the true Christian, he may die nobly for some stake of little value, the importance of which is magnified by its nearness; but if he lay down his life for a crown of immortality, he is to be considered a zealot or enthusiast, because the object, though of transcendent moment, *is a little more distant*! — a mode of calculation directly opposed to that of Christ, — “What is a man profited if he shall gain the whole world and lose his own soul?”

Patriotism is, undoubtedly, commendable; and they, who have died in the cause of civil liberty, deserve their due meed of honor. But patriotism, without Christianity, can only erect a baseless fabric that must crumble into ruins. The only enduring support of civil liberty is the Gospel, with its humanizing, emancipating, soul-expanding institutions. When patriotism is made to supersede this vital spring of all virtue, then the glory of this world is made to eclipse the brighter glory of that which is to come. “*If my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight.*” The most valuable legacy, which a man can leave his country, is a life devoted to the practical illustration of one or more of his Christian testimonies, maintained in their original purity. The mind of man, however enlightened, can excogitate nothing more excellent, nothing more conducive to the well-being of society, nothing more useful to the whole race,

than the precepts of the Gospel. For what do they comprehend, but the very spirit of universal charity? **PEACE ON EARTH AND GOOD-WILL TO MEN** are the objects aimed at by the promulgation of this blessing—the foundation on which it rests, and the source from which all its institutions are derived. Hence true patriotism may display itself efficiently and usefully without taking up arms, either to defend rights or to secure privileges; for the patriotism of a Christian is continually aiming at the highest interests of man; and as the propagation of the Gospel needs not the aid of the sword, neither can patriotism, viewed in this light, need it.

We take it for granted, that it is upon the broad basis of Christian principles *alone*, that reasonings against the use of arms ought to be founded; inasmuch as the Church of Christ has never required the aid of the sword for its propagation,—nay, has been signally retarded in its course, whenever this false friend has come forward to its assistance.

Now, as we read in history, that there have been periods of depression in the Church, so we are to consider that there may be such again, in which Christians may be called upon to lay down their lives in obedience to their testimonies; consequently, that violence may be permitted again, as in former ages, to shed the blood of faithful witnesses, as in the streets. Upon these principles we could not expect that, at all times and under all circumstances, the lives of peaceful Christians should be spared.

The Gospel, in its purity, has many valuable testimonies, besides that in favor of peace and harmony amongst men: some persons, we know, have yielded up their lives on mere points of faith, which their adversaries were not in a state of mind to comprehend; but there is no human being who can shut his heart or his understanding against the influence of peaceable, unoffending conduct.

It would therefore appear, that, whenever a stand has been conscientiously made on the one single testimony against War, either by many or by few, preservation of life has, in a remarkable manner, been experienced. And it may be for this reason, that there is no other Christian testimony, in the support of which the meek and humble disciple is led to evince, more conspicuously, his allegiance and child-like dependence upon the immediate protection of an Almighty Parent; no other testimony which is more calculated to win the disaffected, to tame the cruel, and to soften the violent.

And, on this ground, which seems to have more reference

to the natural effects of peaceable conduct, than to the principle as a Christian tenet, an objection may be noticed, which is sometimes put forward, in the shape of a conclusive argument, against the disciple of Peace, by his opponents.

They suppose a man, who may suddenly profess to act according to peaceable principles, to be *all at once* involved in some serious crisis of difficulty and danger; and, under these circumstances, if he cannot escape from the difficulty, by a strict adherence to his Christian principles, they are ready, forthwith, to question the doctrine and its practical application. For they hastily conclude, that his principles, being, as they suppose, too refined for use, cannot be maintained in practice; without considering that he might have been instrumental in bringing upon himself the dangers in which he is involved, by giving way to principles of an opposite tendency in his previous conduct.

Now, this is not a fair supposition, nor is it a fair predicament in which to place him.

We have before said, that a man cannot *at once* be brought to see that it is wrong to take away the life of a remorseless assassin. We now say, on the other hand, that when a man has been for a long time sowing the seeds of contention, and has in this way made himself liable to the consequences; and then, impelled by fear or by a better motive, *suddenly* repents of his antichristian conduct, and takes up a resolution to change it; he ought not to expect that he should *instantly* reap the fruits of Peace, nor ought he (if, indeed, ever) to presume upon Divine protection, in such circumstances.

For, in so far as the systematic lover of Peace may be concerned in the affairs of life, and be allowed to throw the weight of his influence into the scale of events, whether civil or political, it is obvious, that if the principles of peace and good-will should be acted upon in good faith, between those who might be otherwise disposed to contend, the danger and the extremity, and the predicament in question, through the medium of his influence, would not occur.

It is not fair, therefore, to place the follower of Peace in a difficulty, into which his own principles would never lead him, and then, as if the validity of his principles were to be staked upon the event, to challenge him to extricate himself from the outward perplexity, by any other means than what his opponents denominate the lawful struggle of violence for the maintenance of civil order, against those who would break down its barriers and overturn the most sacred institu-

tions of human society. For it cannot, in reason, be expected, that a sudden adoption of pacific sentiments, accompanied by a momentary fervor of piety, and impassioned invocation of the Great Name, should be availing towards the preservation of any, who are in the extremity of danger from barbarian cruelty, when they may have been living for a long time in systematic opposition to the very principles, and in direct violation of the laws, which they are thus hastily acknowledging. Humble reliance upon Providence is not a duty to be observed *only* in the hour of danger; it is as necessary to the right-minded in the season of outward Peace, as in that of War. It is not while the storm is raging, that prayer is likely to be effectual, when it is offered by those, who, in the time of prosperity, never approach the throne of mercy to acknowledge the blessings showered upon them by Divine favor. Neither is it in the hour of imminent danger, that we can expect a passive submission will be availing to disarm and conciliate the ferocious; unless the mind is at the same time deeply imbued with Christian meekness, and resignation, and humble reliance upon Providence.

Now, we are not disposed to argue upon this point with those, who cannot conceive this latter state, and who only reason as if the impulse of mere human indignation against wrong afforded sufficient grounds to justify retaliation. We cannot expect to convince men against the force of the whole practical principles of their lives. If they have been *outward* in their views of the protection of either property or life, — *outward* in all their calculations of expediency, — *outward* in every plan of earthly aggrandizement — so that they are almost ready triumphantly to boast themselves *independent* of the care and notice of their Heavenly Father; — we no more suppose that they will become suddenly the reverse, and capable of seeing the exact relation between a disciple of the Prince of Peace, and a misguided fellow-creature, than that an eye, long used to darkness, should at once be able to endure the light, or an untutored Indian to comprehend the profoundest principles of philosophy.

We do, however, expect that those, who have examined the genuine principles of the Gospel, and have seen that they are all of a self-denying tendency, should pause a moment, before they sanction the doctrine, that a meek and consistent follower of Jesus Christ is at all to be justified in avenging either himself, or his brother, or his country, with the sword, — in other words, is at liberty to oppose violence to violence, cruelty to cruelty and murder to murder.

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